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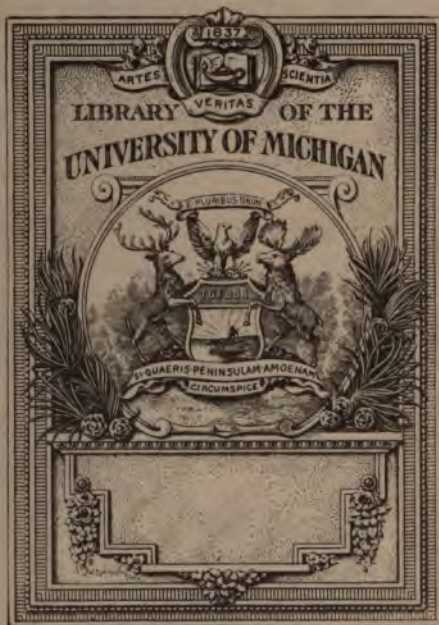
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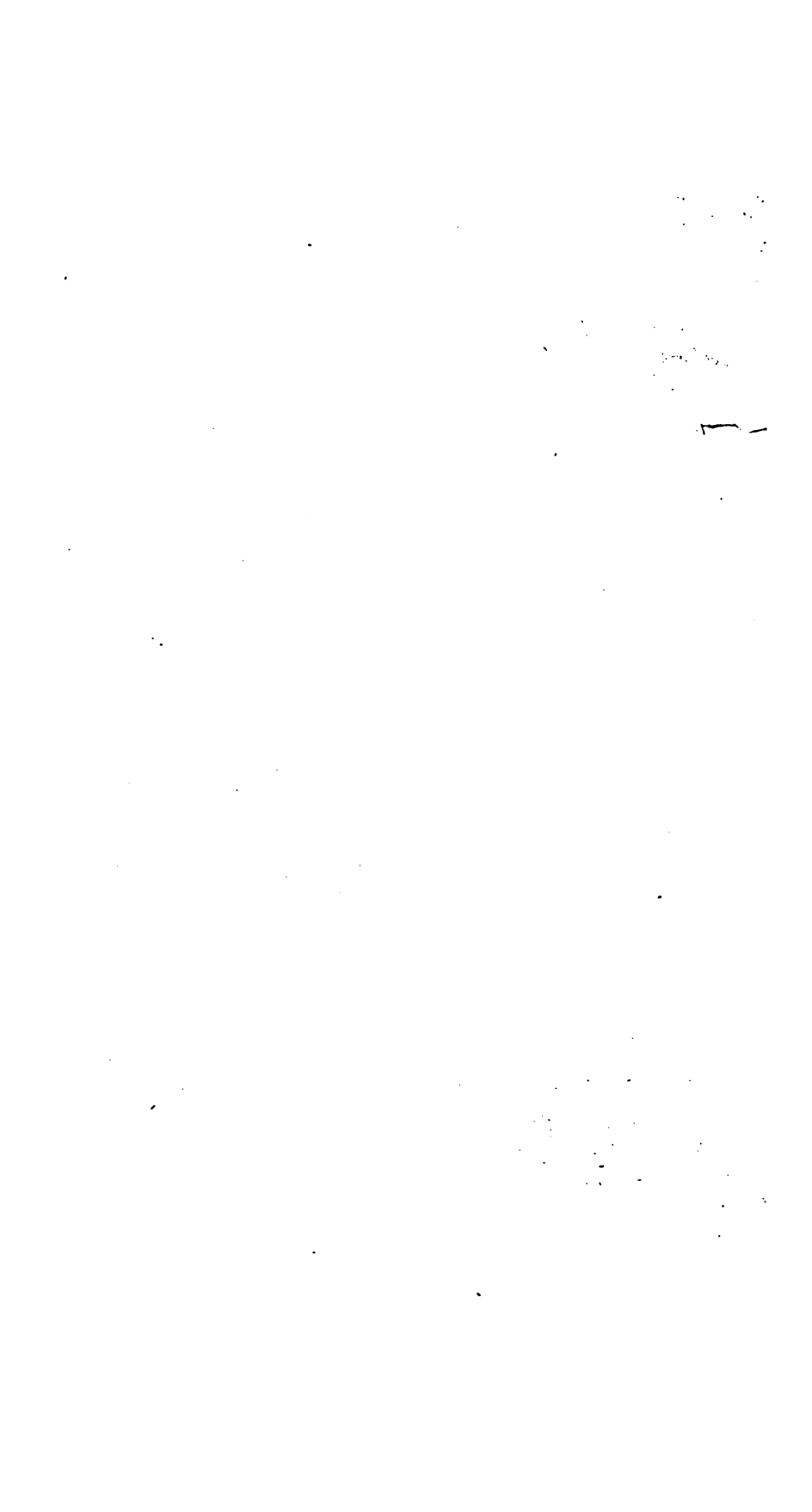
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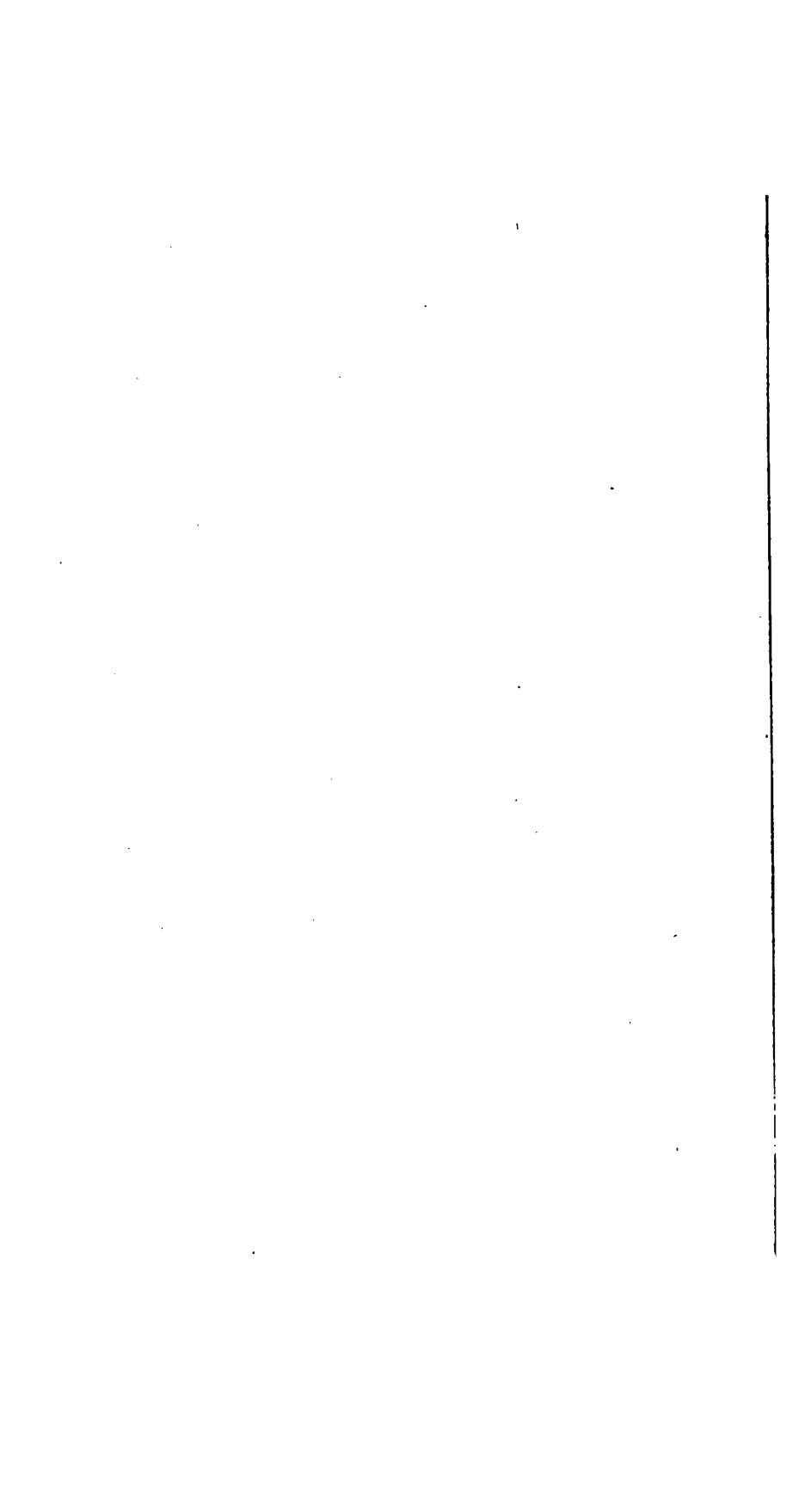
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Amos Chandler

STEPHEN GROVER CLEVELAND

A Sketch of his Life

TO WHICH IS APPENDED A SHORT ACCOUNT
OF THE LIFE OF

THOMAS ANDREWS HENDRICKS

BY

DESHLER WELCH

NEW YORK:
R. WORTHINGTON, 770 BROADWAY.
1884.

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PREFACE.

I ONCE heard Grover Cleveland say in court: "Give us the facts! Facts are what we want!" Now, the life of this man has been in keeping with the basis of this desire. There is but little fiction in his make-up, and what sentiment he has displayed has been simply the nucleus of charity and justice. In the compilation of this volume I have endeavored to record only the facts in the case. The life of Mr. Cleveland affords but a meagre opportunity for an interesting biography, and the people who have nominated him for President of the United States care only to read the testimony, briefly stated, which will allow an adequate judgment of the man's character and ability.

In violation of the old precept, that a thing worth doing is worth doing well, I have allowed this book to go into the publishers' hands after a preparation of only two weeks, and in extenuation of its faults and hasty writing, plead the demand made upon me by the publishers, who doubtless believe that what is worth doing at all is worth doing quickly.

I must not forget to say that I have had much assistance : the personal encouragement of Governor Cleveland and the suggestions of Mr. Daniel Lamont, his private secretary. I have also had material from the Rev. C. T. Berry, of Caldwell, N. J. ; Mr. Edmund J. Cleveland, of New York ; Mr. Samuel M. Welch, of Buffalo, and the public press.

I fancy that my readers will echo with me, in one thing at least, after a careful consideration of what is here published, viz. : That Grover Cleveland builded better than he knew.

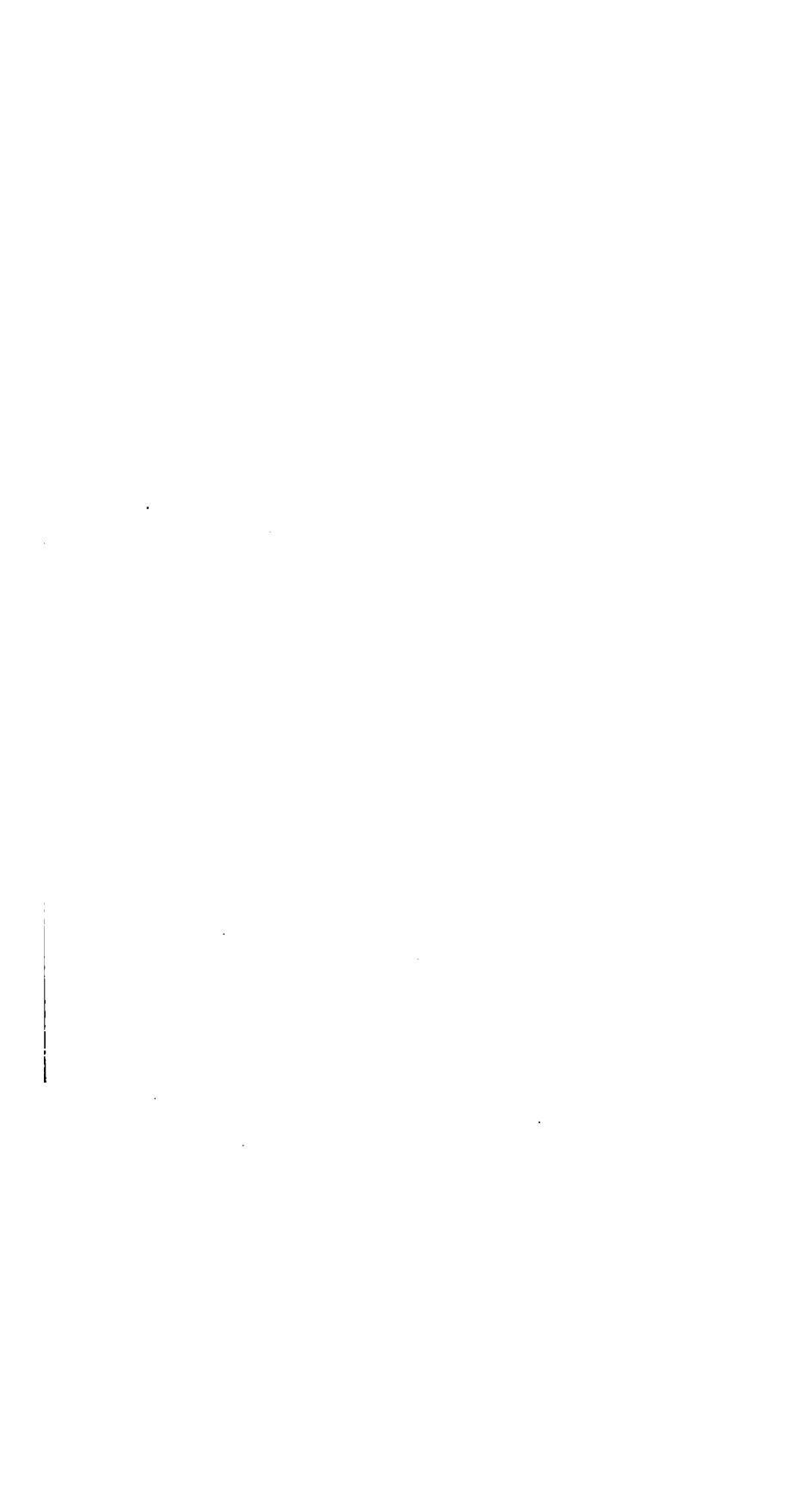
DESHLER WELCH.

NEW YORK, July 21, 1884.

The following expression, given to the biographer by Hon.
Carl Schurz in his own handwriting, is of interest:

I tell Republicans to remember that when Gov. Cleveland was elected Governor of New York, two years ago, it was through Republican support that he received his enormous majority. And it was not every Republican in New York whose object was not mere party advantage, but an honest, able, and capable administration of public affairs for the public good, has ever since congratulated himself upon the support he gave that Democratic candidate. To be sure, while receiving the hearty approbation and applause of the friends of good government Governor Cleveland also made enemies. The bitterest among them were the greedy politicians for whom he was not good enough a partisan because he was so good a Governor, and he was so good a Governor just because he was not a good enough partisan for them.

C. Schurz



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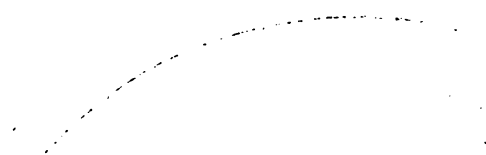
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1700



THE OLD PARSONAGE

STEPHEN GROVER CLEVELAND.

A Sketch of his Life.

I.

THE CLEVELAND FAMILY.

AWAY back in 1635, a sterling man, Moses Cleveland, came to this country from Ipswich, county of Suffolk, England. He it is upon whom we must fasten a great deal of responsibility. It is to be regretted that he did not have the satisfaction of realizing this himself. He took the Freeman's Oath in 1643, and on September 26, 1648, married Ann Winn, daughter of Edward and Joanna Winn, of Woburn. They had seven sons and four daughters. He died in Woburn, January 9, 1701. About his name, however, does not linger any trace of reminiscence or tradition. In the old cemetery in Woburn are still standing the gravestones of English slate which mark the resting-place of Aaron Cleveland, the second son of Moses. He was a man of distinction in the town, and of wealthy estate, as wealth was consid-

ered in those days, for it was appraised at £221 8s. 3d. His occupation was that of a farmer and house-wright. He married, September 26, 1675, Dorcas Wilson, who was at that time the belle of the town. They had ten children, among whom was Sarah, the ancestor of Major-General John Blake, an officer distinguished in the Revolution. Captain Aaron Cleveland, the first son of Aaron Cleveland second, went to East Haddam in 1738, and became wealthy through land speculation. The Haddam records designate him as "a gentleman," and having left a fortune of £3,000. He married, in Woburn, January 1, 1702, Abigail Waters, described as "an accomplished and lovely lady of Irish parentage." Her grandson, Rev. Aaron Cleveland, thus referred facetiously to this in a poem on "The Family Blood:"

" Four kinds of blood flow in my veins,
And govern each, in turn, my brains ;
From Cleveland, Porter, Sewall, Waters,
I had my blood distinct in quarters."

They had also a family of ten children, a large and useful posterity, which settled chiefly in the Western States. Portraits and biographies of many of them appear in local histories. One of them, Samuel, was barbarously murdered by Indians at Jeddore, N. S., on his vessel, an account of which was published in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1753. Moses, the fourth, was the grandfather of Major-General Erastus Cleveland, of Madison, N. Y., who commanded the United States forces at Sackett's Harbor in the war of 1812. The Rev. Aaron Cleveland, seventh child of Captain Aaron, entered old Harvard College at the age of sixteen and was graduated in 1735. He had a useful pastorate of the Presbyterian church at Haddam, Conn., and was for a time at Malden, Mass.

He afterward took charge of an Episcopal parish in Halifax, N. S. He received orders in the church, and was duly ordained priest by the Bishop of London, then commissioned by "The Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts," to take charge of the church at Newcastle, Pa. On his way there he visited his old and intimate friend, Dr. Benjamin Franklin, and while stopping at his house was suddenly taken ill. Franklin was at that time the editor of the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, and wrote of his death as follows :

"On Thursday last, after a lingering illness, died here the Rev. Mr. Cleveland, lately appointed to the mission at Newcastle by the Society for Propagating the Gospel. As he was a gentleman of a humane and pious disposition, indefatigable in his ministry, easy and affable in his conversation, open and sincere in his friendship, and above every species of meanness and dissimulation, his death is greatly lamented by all who knew him as a loss to the public, a loss to the church of Christ in general, and in particular to that congregation who had proposed to themselves so much satisfaction from his late appointment among them, agreeable to their own request."

Dr. Cleveland's wife was a Susannah Porter, a daughter of a clergyman and a near relative to Chief-Justices Samuel and Stephen Sewall, of Massachusetts. By a singular coincidence this couple were blessed with ten children. One of them, Stephen, born in 1740, was the first naval officer commissioned by Congress, and his son, Richard Jeffrey, was a United States Vice-Consul at Havana, and in his turn had many distinguished descendants.

Dr. Cleveland's son Aaron was born February 9, 1744, in East Haddam, on the Connecticut River. For the greater part of his life he carried on business in Norwich. He distinguished himself by making an opposition to slavery and introducing a bill in the Con-

necticut legislature for its abolishment. He was poet and something of an orator. It is told of him one day taking a horseback ride he stopped at a well to give his animal water. At the same moment a man drove up hastily on the opposite side and unsparingly disturbed the water. "Good-morning, Minister," said the stranger. "Good-morning, Mr. Democrat," retorted Mr. Cleveland. "And pray why take me for a democrat?" was the rejoinder. "Why do you take me for a minister?" "Oh, plain by your dress." "And that you are a denier," said Mr. Cleveland, "is quite plain by your address."

Aaron Cleveland was always known as a staunch anti-slavery Republican, and died in New Haven in 1872. His son Charles was born in Norwich in 1772, and afterward was widely known as "Father Cleveland," because he was blessed with thirteen children, and because his ways were kind and genial. He was a missionary in Boston. The youngest of his sons married Dr. Samuel H. Coxe, whose son is the present Arthur Cleveland Coxe, the Episcopal Bishop of Western New York. Aaron Cleveland's second son, William, was a silversmith by trade, and lived the greater part of his life at Bean Hill, on the outskirts of Norwich. He was a deacon of the Congregational church for twenty-five years. He died at Black River, then a suburb of Buffalo, in 1837. His second son, Ward Falley Cleveland, was born in Norwich, in 1804. He entered Yale College in 1820, and graduated four years later with high honors. While at Yale he worked in a factory with his cousin, William E. Cleveland, who eventually became the well-known New York merchant. William went to Baltimore, where he was employed as a tutor, and while there fell in love with

Neal, the daughter of a publisher and merchant of Irish birth. She was a sweet type of Southern womanhood. After a year or so in Baltimore he went to the Princeton Theological Seminary. In 1829 he returned to Baltimore, a full-fledged Presbyterian clergyman, and then married Anne Neal. These two people were the parents of Stephen Grover Cleveland, now the Governor of the State of New York.

They had altogether nine children, as follows : Anna (Mrs. Dr. Hastings), missionary to Ceylon ; William N., 1832, an Alumnus of Hamilton, now a Presbyterian minister at Forestport, N. Y. ; Mary, 1833 (Mrs. W. E. Hoyt) ; Richard Cecil, 1835 ; Stephen Grover, 1837 ; Margaret (Mrs. N. B. Bacon), 1838 ; Lewis Frederick, 1841 ; Susan (Mrs. L. Yeomans), 1843 ; Rose E., unmarried, 1846.*

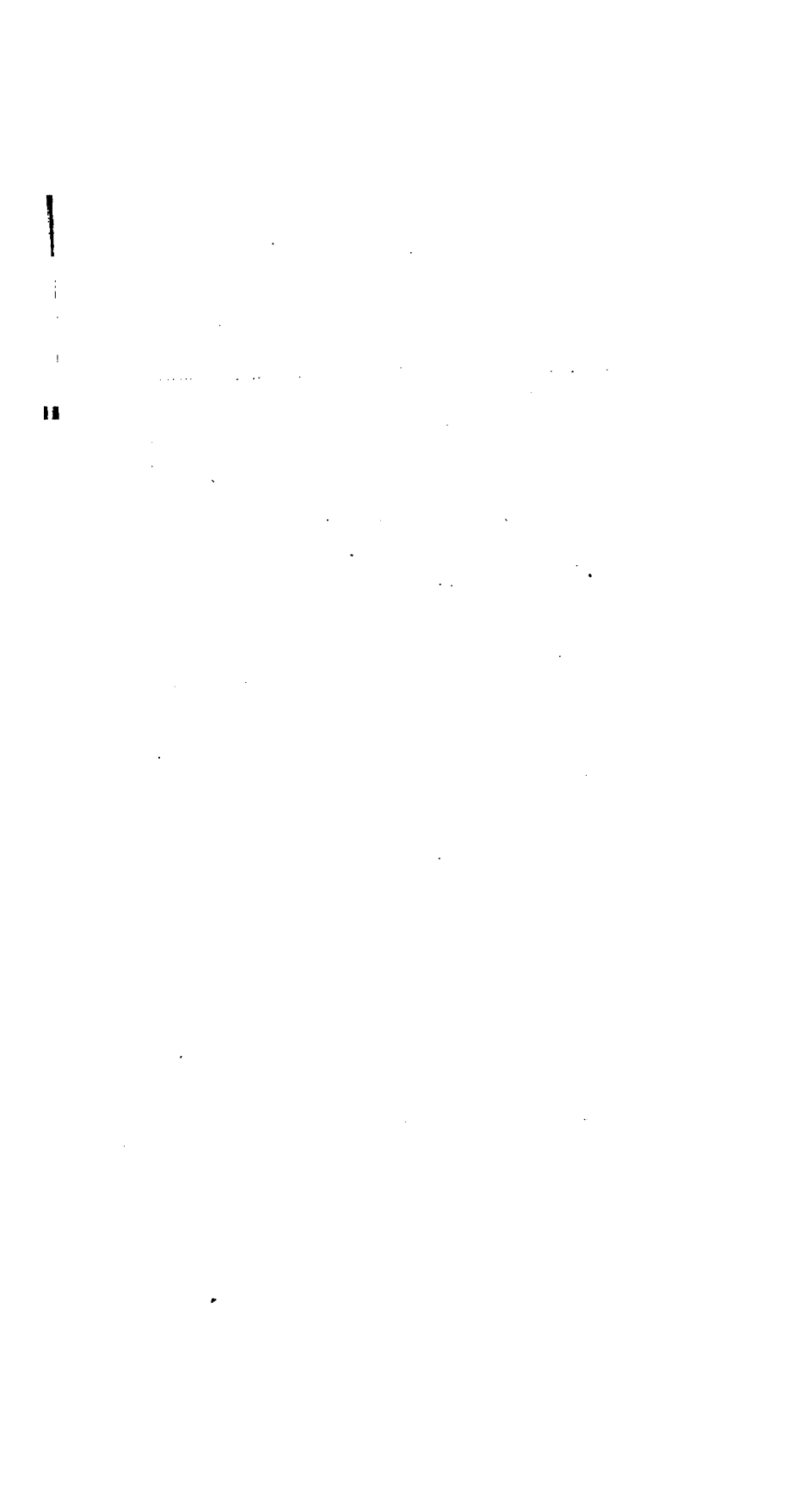
The first trust of the young minister was in Windham, Conn. ; the second was in Portsmouth, Va. ; and the third at the little village of Caldwell, near Newark, N. J., where, in the Presbyterian parsonage, Grover

* Cecil and Frederick served in the war, and were afterward lost on the Missouri, at sea, in 1872. During the war Grover remained at home to care for his mother and sisters. Grover was the first man drafted in Buffalo, but he promptly provided a substitute, who made a faithful soldier. In regard to Cleveland's war record much has been said about his staying at home, and while Mayor of Buffalo the Republicans attempted to make capital out of the fact that he vetoed the bill appropriating public money for a soldiers' monument in Buffalo. But he did it on the ground that the Common Council had no right to appropriate funds for a purpose of that kind, and that the ends might be more properly reached by a subscription paper. A subscription was afterward taken, and the first and largest subscriber was Mayor Cleveland. While Governor he approved a bill providing that the heads of the various State departments shall, when making appointment, give preference to honorably discharged soldiers and sailors of the United States.

Cleveland was born. The house is an old-fashioned structure of two stories, with quaint, ivy-covered porch and big gable ends. About it are some two acres of ground, with noble ash trees standing guard at the door, which opens into a spacious hall. The rooms on either side of it are comfortable and homelike, but with low ceilings. The doors are wide, and the room in which the Governor was born is about fifteen feet square and has two windows. All the surroundings of the place indicate respectability. The parsonage was first occupied by Stephen Grover, a former pastor of the church, Richard F. Cleveland succeeding him in 1844. In the old church baptismal record may be found the statement of the birth and baptism of Governor Cleveland, who was named in honor of the old pastor. But from the day of his christening he was called Grover, and has always been known by that name. Grover only lived in this village for three years, and during that time it is presumable that he conducted himself much like other infants, although fond mammas and nurses declared that he had a way of doubling up his fists and causing havoc, which clearly prophesied an unusual tenacity of purpose. He was not a very large child, and even when he had reached his teens he was very slim and had small features.

When he was nearly four years old Grover's father accepted a call to the church at Fayetteville, a country settlement near Syracuse, and at the foot of Pompey Hill, where Horatio Seymour was born. The journey to Fayetteville was one of the first incidents in Grover's life that deeply impressed him; for a tedious journey it was by boat up the Hudson River, and thence along the "raging canal" by packet line to Fayetteville which was reached on a Saturday midnight.





II.

GROVER CLEVELAND'S EARLY DAYS.

THE village of Fayetteville, while now thriving with twelve hundred inhabitants, was, in Grover Cleveland's early days, a very quiet, straggling sort of a place—hardly the place to foster a significant record, and there are no reminiscences appertaining to the nine years of Grover's life there that show any precocious development or any latent smartness that would have led any one to suppose that the boy had been born to greatness. At the beginning of the Rev. Mr. Cleveland's pastorate, Grover exhibited a taste for study. The family had moved into a two-story dwelling opposite the academy school, and he longingly watched the school-boys in their coming and going, and in their recess of play. Finally his father consented, after many solicitations, to allow Grover to go to the academy, and the boy was very joyous the day when, with new books under his arm, he ran across the street to the school-house and had his first experience in learning. But he did not enter fully into the sports of the boys, and had but few intimates among them. His ambition, his joy, was intellectual achievement, and in thus preferring study he arose to an elevation among his associates which caused his force to dominate and he became their leader. While at times

he sought seclusion and was quiet with thoughtfulness, he was always popular because it was in him to be popular. Yet Grover in no way posed as a young saint, nor did he run away from mischief. It is related by an old friend of his, Captain H. S. Pratt, who is still residing in Fayetteville, that Grover, or "Grove," as he was familiarly called then, was "chuck full of fun, and had a great weakness for ringing the school bell when he got a chance." He enjoys telling the story of how Grover and his brother Will rigged a long rope, extending to a tree some distance away, and to the hammer of the bell, raising a din and a clatter all night that stirred up the village most effectually.

Grover finished his tuition at the academy in 1849, and in the same year was admitted to membership in the church. On the advice of Deacon McVicar he accepted a position as clerk in his store, where drugs and medicines and dry-goods and groceries—in short, the old-time "country store"—were sold. Here the boy had not much chance to distinguish himself. Beyond the employment of selling goods by day he burned the midnight oil in his privacy to a profitable degree. His brother Cecil was called a prodigy in mathematics, but Grover excelled in the languages, and was considered a fine classical scholar in Greek and Latin. Among other old residents of Fayetteville now living is Dr. D. P. Hutchins, who attests that Grover was regarded as a courteous, good boy, dignified in his manners and exceedingly popular. He held his position in the store a little over a year, was an efficient clerk, and was highly recommended by Mr. McVicar when he left the latter's employ. His mother was a devoted and loving parent, and always a wise counsellor for the clergyman and his children. All the brothers and sisters of Grover were con-

stant in their attendance at the village schools, and all of them ready pupils. A distinguishing characteristic of the family, which greatly assisted them in all the trials of life, was the unswerving loyalty one for the other, and the loyalty of their employment, from Grover's bravery and fidelity, to his parents' allegiance and love for the Almighty—a love that was deeply instilled in Grover's thoughtful life, and which has been his guiding star. ✓

And so the nine years in Fayetteville were happy ones; but toward the last the respected and beloved pastor suffered much in health and there were evidences of a failing system. The American Home Missionary Society made him an offer of \$1,000 a year—a little more than his present income—with a privilege of a residence at Clinton, the seat of Hamilton College and Houghton Seminary and a preparatory school. This he accepted in 1851, and here it was that William concluded his college course and Grover continued his preparations for entering college. It was at this period that Mr. Cleveland suggested to Grover that as he was under the age required for college, his mind ought to be rested from study, and a little skirmish in the world's battle would do him infinite good. Then he went to Fayetteville to serve as clerk for Mr. McVicar for \$50 the first year and \$100 for the second.

But Mr. Cleveland had not received that benefit to his health which he had expected, and somewhat restless at the absences from his home which his new duties required, he accepted a call to the pastorate of the church at Holland Patent, a little hamlet on the Black River Railroad, ten or twelve miles north of Utica. Hither the family moved in September, 1853. A month only had passed when the first calamity in the

Cleveland family occurred—the sudden death of the good father and minister. Grover was called back to the funeral while in Utica, on his way to attend his sister's wedding. Of course this brought a radical change in home affairs, and serious work must be immediately entered upon. There was a mother, and a family of sisters, and a young brother to be provided for and educated. Educated they must be, for this had been the father's ambition, and a determination to which he adhered in every way possible. William had obtained a position as an instructor in the Institution for the Blind in New York, and although but sixteen years of age, Grover obtained employment through the late Augustus Schell, who was at the head of its management. Here he remained a year, and then concluded that better opportunities could be found in the West. He returned to his mother's home, remaining for a few days, hardly knowing what to do first, and without any special purpose or fixed idea, except that he wanted to do *something*; something that would tell for himself. He never lost his ambition to get ahead, and he had it with pushing himself disagreeably or to the discomfort of others. But to start out and look for work now needed a small capital to begin on. As may be fancied, he had not been able to save much out of the meagre amount he had received for work. He had an honest will and an honest heart, and when he asked a friend to lend him \$25 on his note—it was a friend of his father—he got it. Here he was favored by fortune, for not every one who finds this sort of substantial ship.

Many a young man has lost a good chance for the want of a friend. The man who loaned Cleveland the money was the Hon. In

send, of Floyd, Oneida County. A number of years afterward he received the following characteristic letter :

"JANUARY 23, 1867.

"I am now in condition to pay my note which you hold, given for money borrowed some years ago. I suppose I might have paid it long before, but I have never thought you were in need of it, and I had other purposes for my money. I have forgotten the date of the note. If you will send me it I will mail you the principal and interest. The loan you made me was my start in life, and I shall always preserve the note as an interesting reminder of your kindness. Let me hear from you soon. With many kind wishes to Mrs. Townsend and your family,

"I am, yours very respectfully,

"GROVER CLEVELAND."

Could anything be more straightforward and more delightfully blunt than this? He had other uses for the money! He had the very best reason for not paying it before!

Good Mr. Townsend died in March, 1883, living long enough to see his young friend elected Governor of the State of New York. His age was eighty-one, and he was happy in the thought that he had helped many a young fellow to get on in the world. When he gave Grover the money he told him he need never return it, but if he should ever meet a young man in need, as he once was, to turn it over to him if he had it to spare.

Grover canvassed both Utica and Syracuse for work, but without success. Then he resolved to go to Cleveland, attracted by the name as much as anything, and it seemed to be a good omen to him. And so he started. At Buffalo he stopped to see his uncle, Lewis F. Allen, who lived at "Black Rock." Mr. Allen was a well-known and leading farmer, and has always since then

been a noted resident of the city.* Grover stated his purpose to continue toward the setting sun.

His uncle's question brought out the story that it was his ambition to become a lawyer, but the necessities of the family had changed the course of his life, and he must look to other things where remuneration would be more immediate. The uncle, author of the criterion "*American Short-Horn Herd-Book*," needed assistance on his work. He persuaded Grover to remain with him for this purpose until the work was completed, and at the end of the time informed him that he had secured an opportunity for him in the law office of Rogers, Bowen & Rogers, where he could begin his legal studies.

He was given the post of office-boy, with privilege of access to the law library. The very first day in his new place Mr. Rogers gave him a copy of *Blackstone*—that is the rock first stepped upon—and told him he might enjoy himself with it. Then they paid no more attention to him. Grover likewise became so engrossed that he paid no attention to the happenings in the office, and while he was absorbing *Blackstone* the rest of the clerks locked up the doors, and there Grover remained a night. But he mastered *Blackstone*.

The amount earned by Grover the first two years not exceed \$4 a week, and that simply paid for the necessities of life. The distance from the office to his uncle's house was two miles, but the ambitious boy missed a day, no matter how inclement the weather. Finally his pay was increased, and he took a sm

* Mr. Allen is a man now upward of eighty-five years of age, has been in the State Legislature, a prominent cattle dealer, occupied most of Grand Island, Niagara River, and was a member of the Falconwood Club. He is a lawyer by profession, is a cultured old gentleman, and is over six feet in height.

in the attic of the Southern Hotel, which at that time was a favorite place with farmers and drovers. His breakfast was taken at candle-light with the drovers, and his evenings were passed in reading and storing legal knowledge in a way that established in him a deep and firm habit of industry and application. At the end of four years Grover Cleveland became head clerk, and his salary was raised to \$1,000 a year. One of his associates at that time has written :

"Grover won our admiration by his three traits of indomitable industry, unpretentious courage, and unswerving honesty. I never saw a more thorough man at anything he undertook. Whatever the subject was, he was reticent until he had mastered all its bearings and made up his own mind, and then nothing could swerve him from his conviction. It was this quality of intellectual integrity more than anything else perhaps that made him afterward listened to and respected when more brilliant men who were opposed to him were applauded and forgotten."

Mr. Lewis F. Allen, has always had the interest of his nephew to heart, although Mr. Allen is himself a Republican. Of Grover's youthful days he says, in speaking of sensational articles published in several newspapers :

"In a long and somewhat sensational notice of Governor Cleveland in your paper of Saturday last, taken from the *New York World*, I find some gross inaccuracies relating to his advent in this city, which in justice to him at least should be corrected. He had on several occasions from his early boyhood been a visitor in my family for weeks together, and ingratiated himself in our kind feelings. In the spring of the year 1854, after diligent employment in sundry occupations in the city of New York and elsewhere, not altogether congenial to his future purposes in life, he came to my house in this city on a brief call, while on his way to Cleveland, O., where, without a single friend or acquaintance, he intended to find his way into a law office to acquire a knowledge of that profession. On disclosing his intention, I endeavored to dissuade him

from so precarious an attempt, and advised him to remain five months in my employment, where he could be useful, for which I would compensate him, and meantime assist, if possible, to a situation with some eminent law firm in this city to prosecute his studies for a profession which he had selected for his future hopes and industry. Ending his summer labors with me, on application to the distinguished law firm of Messrs. H. W. Rogers & Dennis Bowen by both of us, he was kindly introduced to a table in their office, where not 'a number of young men were in the place already,' as the account states, but only an assistant copyist and an established student of the profession were employed. There young Grover took his place and applied himself diligently to the rudiments of his future profession, without any 'nominal pay of \$3 or \$4 a week to pay for his board and washing,' again erroneously stated, for young law clerks seldom receive any compensation for their first year's labor in a law office. Nor was there any 'titter in the circle of law clerks' at his presence or awkwardness.

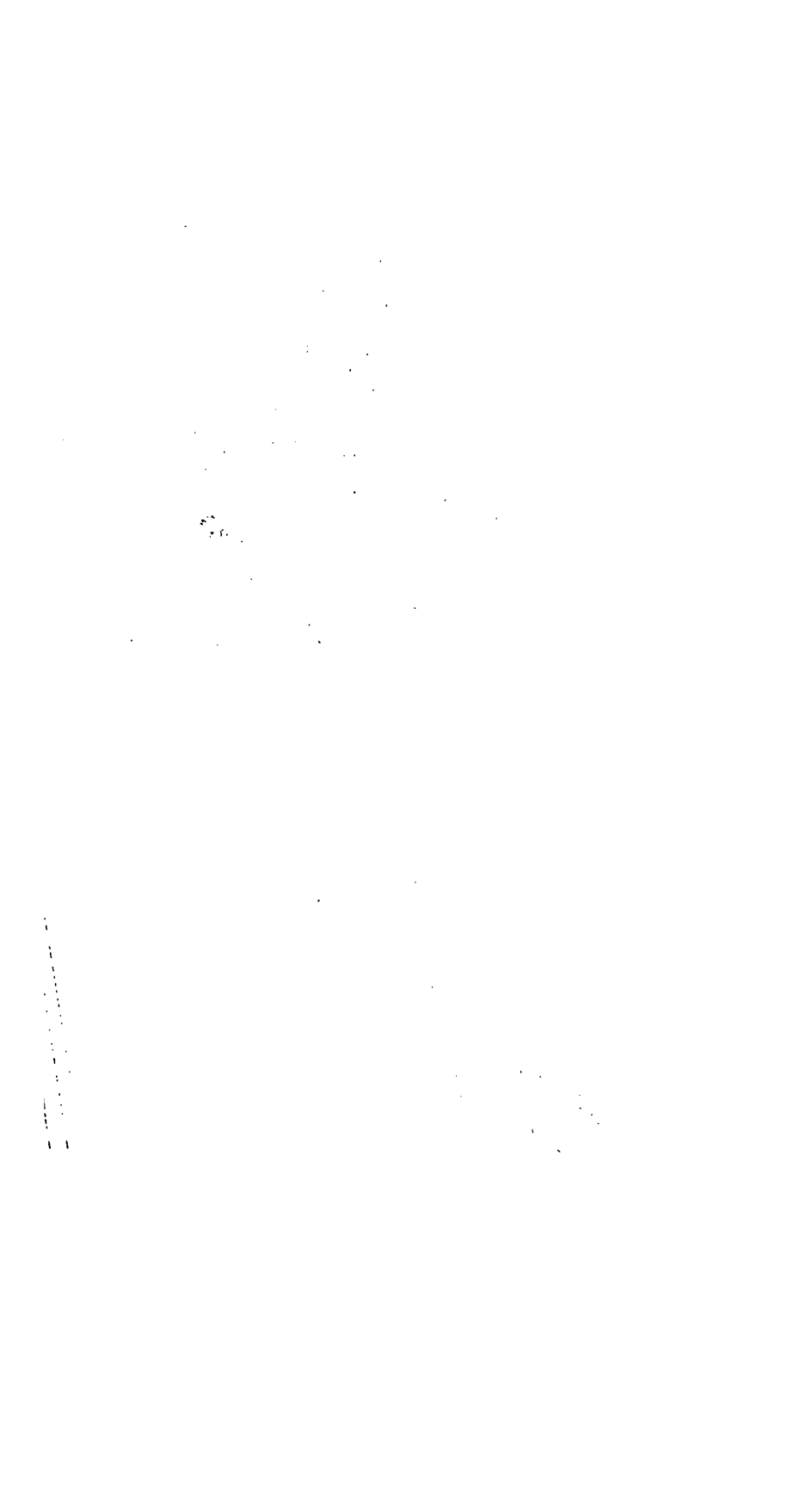
"He boarded with my family for perhaps a year, well clothed, lacking neither an 'overcoat' nor 'boots,' in place of 'broken shoes in sleet and snow,' as the slander continues, but sufficient in all bodily requirements for health and comfort by his earnings with me, honestly and faithfully rendered. He assisted me for some years afterward, at intervals spared from his studious employment, in the compilation of my succeeding volumes of a valuable work, with due compensation for his labor. He was no mendicant for employment in whatever he rendered services, but earned his wages, whatever they might be, as any other bright and diligent young man has done, until he established himself in his profession with success and honor.

"I know no reason why, in writing up the history of one who has so rapidly risen to public estimation in any phase of life, he should needlessly be placed in an early destitute condition of charity or necessity, in contrast with the eminent position to which his ability or good fortune had subsequently elevated him." *

* In commenting upon this the *Buffalo Courier* said: "A letter from the Hon. Lewis F. Allen, which we publish in another column, criticises sharply the account of Grover Cleveland's early years contained in a biographical sketch copied from the *New York World* by the *Courier*. Our esteemed fellow-citizen knocks the romance out of the story and rather damages it as campaign material, though he contributes something to the truth of history in the process. During the Garfield can-

CALDWELL FROM THE HILL.





vass we wrote an editorial wondering how it came to pass that Republican candidates almost invariably began life in ignorance and poverty, so that their early adventures furnished no end of effective anecdotes for the political editor and stump speaker. Lincoln's boyhood was passed in a squalid Indiana cabin, and he was in his youth a flat-boatman and rail-splitter. Andrew Johnson was a journeyman tailor, whose wife taught him how to read. Henry Wilson belonged to a disreputable family of tramps, and changed his name, to disguise his kinship with them. Garfield was a canal driver, and had to go to bed while a kindly landlady was mending his only pair of trousers. In the same article we lamented the fact that somehow or other the Democratic candidates of late years have always come of well-to-do people, and had no exceptional adventures in their comfortable boyhood, and as the public loves romance, strange contrasts, and improbable stories, it has been no easy task to challenge their interest in the boyhood of great men who never tottered on the very verge of want or disrepute. It was the heroic effort of the *World* writer to grapple with this difficulty that challenged our admiration. By the use of much fine language and not a little imagination he contrived to make out of a few simple facts something that read very much like a Republican campaign document. We couldn't throw such a glamour over the story of the Governor, but we had no scruple about making use of the glamour when it came to hand ready made. And now cometh the Hon. Lewis F. Allen, the venerable Republican uncle of the Democratic candidate, and knocketh into a cocked hat the first innocent attempt of a Democratic paper at political pathos after the high Republican manner."

III.

THE BEGINNING OF A PUBLIC LIFE.

IN 1863 an Assistant District Attorney was to be appointed for the county of Erie. It was discussed with much zeal among the young lawyers in the office of Rogers, Bowen & Rogers. Many young members of the bar were anxious to obtain the position, but it did not appear that young Cleveland advanced any particular claim or seemed to entertain any idea that he could get the appointment. It was finally insisted upon by his friends, however, that he ought to have it, and he was urged to accept it. It was at this time more than any other in his early career that his character developed its true worth. He was duly appointed to the position, and entered then upon the beginning of his public life. Much of the work of the office fell on Cleveland's shoulders for the following three years; but his vital powers, which had now thoroughly developed to remarkable degree, were manifested in his industrious hard flagging work of which there seemed no end. It was the right sort of training for young Cleveland and he has reaped the measure of reward. The affairs of the county were never better conducted, and with any solicitation on his part whatever, at the end of three years he was nominated for the post of District

ney. It is mentioned as an instance of his calm and certain temperament, that on the day of the election he was trying a case in a Buffalo court, while on the street his friends were electioneering for him with all the excitement that was then attending political struggles. The judge on the bench told Cleveland to go out and attend to his interests, and then summarily adjourned the case. But he was defeated by the Republican candidate, Lyman K. Bass. The next year, 1866, Mr. Cleveland formed a business alliance with the late J. K. Vanderpool, which lasted until 1869. He then associated himself with the late A. P. Laning and the late Oscar Folsom. With Mr. Folsom he also formed very strong ties of social friendship, and on the death of Mr. Folsom made a speech which showed the noble bent of Cleveland's mind. As his biographer I think that the friends of Mr. Cleveland now who did not know him then will read it with interest. I give it as it was reported *verbatim* at the time :

"It has been said, 'Light sorrows speak—great grief is dumb,' and the application of this would enforce my silence on this occasion. But I cannot go so far ; nor let the hours pass without adding a tribute of respect and love to my departed friend. He was my friend in the most sacred and complete sense of the term. I have walked with him, talked with him, ate with him, and slept with him—was he not my friend ?

"I must not, dare not, recall the memories of our long and loving friendship. And let not my brethren think it amiss if I force back the thoughts that come crowding to my mind. I shall speak coldly of my friend ; but the most sacred tribute of a sad heart, believe me, is unspoken.

"In the course of a life not entirely devoid of startling incidents, I can truly say I never was so shocked and overwhelmed as when I heard on Friday night of the death of Oscar Folsom. I had an engagement with him that evening, and was momentarily expecting him when I received the intelligence of his injury ; and before I reached the scene of the accident I was abruptly told of his death : I shall not attempt to describe

my emotions. Death seemed so foreign to this man ; and the exuberance of his life was so marked and prominent that the idea of his dying or his death seemed to me incongruous and out of place. And before I saw him dead I found myself reflecting 'how strange he would look dying or dead.'

"I had seen him in every other part in the drama of life—but this—and for this he seemed unfitted.

"His remarkable social qualities won for him the admiration of all with whom he came in contact, while his great kind heart caused all to love him who knew him well. He was remarkably true in his friendships, and, having really made a friend he 'grappled him with hooks of steel.' Open and frank himself, he opposed deceit and indirection. His remarkable humor never had intentional sting ; and though impulsive and quick, he was always just. In the practice of his profession and in the solution of legal questions he saw which was right and just, and then expected to find the law leading him directly there.

"It is not strange to find joined to a jovial disposition a kind and generous heart ; but he had, besides these, a broad and correct judgment, and a wonderful knowledge of men and affairs ; and the instances are numerous in my experience when *his* strong common-sense has aided me easily through difficulties. Such was my friend.

"The sadness of his taking off has no alleviation. I shall not dwell upon the harrowing circumstances. On Friday afternoon Oscar Folsom, in the mid-day of life, was cherishing bright anticipations for the future. Among them he had planned a home in an adjoining town, where he calculated upon much and quiet. He had already partially perfected his arrangements, which were soon to be fully consummated, Within forty-eight short hours he reached the town of his anticipated residence. But God had intervened. The hands of loving friends bore him to a home, but not the home he had himself provided. He found peace in the home that God provides for the sons of men, and quiet ; ah, such quiet !—in the grave. I know how fleeting and how soon forgotten are the lessons taught by such calamities. 'The gay will laugh, the solemn brow of care plod on, and each one as before pursue his favorite phantom.' But it seems to me long, long years will intervene before pleasant memories of his life will be unmingled with the sad admonitions furnished by the death of Oscar Folsom.

"Let us cherish him in loving remembrance, and heed well the lesson of his death ; and let our tenderest sympathy extend to a childless father, a widowed wife, and fatherless child."

These remarks were made at a meeting of the Bar of Erie County, July 26, 1875. The meeting was largely attended, and presided over by Judge Daniels of the Supreme Court. Tributes were also made by Governor Dorsheimer, Hon. A. P. Laning, Judge Clinton, General Scroggs, and others ; but none gained such wrapt attention as Mr. Cleveland, and this was considered one of his best early efforts.

In 1870 Mr. Cleveland was elected to be Sheriff of Erie County, and took the office January 1, 1871, and in that position earned additional laurels for his unswerving honesty and bull-dog determination to do right. The public welfare was continually at heart, and he held aloof from all partisan interests. At the end of his term he formed a new law partnership with his former antagonist, Lyman K. Bass, and Wilson S. Bissell. Mr. Bass was, however, compelled to go to Colorado for his health shortly afterward, and then the firm became Cleveland & Bissell, to which partnership Mr. George J. Sicard was admitted in 1871. The following has been written about his legal distinction, and as a journalist in Buffalo at the time, and fully cognizant of Mr. Cleveland's official life, I can subscribe to the truth of it :

"It was while thus associated that Grover Cleveland achieved his distinction as a lawyer second to few in the western part of the State for legal acumen and intellectual honesty. His jury and bench trials were distinguished by clear views, direct, simple logic, and a thorough mastery of all the intricacies of the cases, and his invariable avoidance of extrinsic issues and purely technical devices secured for him the respect of his own profession and the admiration of the public. These qualities, combined with the fidelity and independence of his official action while in office, brought him prominently before the public of Buffalo when that city, unable to extricate itself from a municipal octopus, was casting about for a staunch reform leader."

An old resident of Buffalo, Mr. S. M. Welch, who is a good observant of character, writes me as follows :

"You ask me about Cleveland. I have never been intimate with him, yet I have known him nearly all the time he has been here. I knew him slightly when I was a candidate for president of the Young Men's Association. He was then, I think, a student at law with Rogers & Bowen, not Sherman S. Rogers, but Henry W. Rogers, his uncle. Cleveland supported me instead of Joseph Warren, my opponent, who was elected. Cleveland, although generally known among men, seems to have been intimate with few ; never aggressive. Socially I do not think he has had many intimates, yet quite a companionable man, with a vein of humor running through his ordinary talk. I was with him in the Executive Committee of the Young Men's Association. There were seventeen in the committee, and Mr. Cleveland was always listened to with interest. He talked upon occasion with dignity and wisdom, and not for talk's sake or to 'blow his horn,' nor for Cleveland ; *generally to correct defects* or to propose some new point ; neither too terse nor verbose, but with brevity sufficient not to choke his subject. When he had finished you felt as if he had said something worth saying, which in a committee of young men is not always the case. I do not think Cleveland was ever a persistent seeker after office for office sake. I am inclined to think that he did want the office of Sheriff of Erie County for its pecuniary benefit. He filled the office as it should be filled. He gave satisfaction, displaying strong executive abilities then, which were more exemplified subsequently as Mayor. After his official term as Sheriff had expired, I think he determined to devote himself his profession with renewed assiduity. When called to the mayoralty I think it was a somewhat unlooked-for acquisition, and when 'boomed' for Governor successfully, I think he was the most surprised man in State, and to-day I am of the impression that he doubts his own title. I frequently met Mr. Cleveland at the City Club at breakfast. On one occasion, if my memory serves me correctly, he said that the people of his ward were badgering him to run for alderman ; that he was a Republican one and they thought he might carry ; that he would be able to give control of the council to the Democrats, and 'in that way' fellows (the other aldermen) straight.' He seemed to be of the opinion that the people should put it on the ground of obligation, as he

to give his time to it, nor was it congenial to his tastes to accept such a place. He thought it would interfere with his business.

"I said to him : 'Cleveland, I would not take the place ; you have the right idea of it ; your professional career is of vastly more importance than the wrangling position of alderman ; but I'll tell you what, Cleveland, I am a Republican, but if you will run for Mayor I will vote for you !' I do not think he anticipated the nomination of Mayor. As it happened, the Democratic party were unable to find a proper man who would *bleed* freely of money, and they hit upon Cleveland as a strong man for the place, and wisely. Harmon S. Cutting was his secretary, and an admirable choice it was. Cutting had been familiar with politics, was a good speaker and a careful lawyer, and helped to make the place easy for Cleveland. Cleveland's inner life, as far as I know, has been an undemonstrative, quiet one, confined to but few intimates. His usual way of living was in bachelor apartments over Weed's old hardware store. Rather too far down town for a person desirous of pushing himself socially, but possibly selected for the advantage of studious employment of his time when not professionally engaged. His meals were taken at the City Club or at the Tift House. For some time he boarded at the house of the Misses Burtis, 51 Niagara Street, the old residence of the late William G. Fargo. I have occasionally played whist with Mr. Cleveland, and he is a good player. He likes recreation in that way sometimes, when in the mood or meeting his more immediate friends. He used to enjoy a mug of beer at Shenkleberger's ; but there was and is always with him an unassumed bearing of dignity and thoughtfulness, even to loftiness, as if there was something undefined bearing upon him of serious import. He is not unlike in deportment to Millard Fillmore when Vice-President, but rather lacking Fillmore's aplomb and gentlemanly polish. If I mistake not in my judgment, if elected he will make a somewhat similar President—a conservative, just, and impartial one. I doubt if he will follow his party or be led by them in schemes or machinations. He will not rank with Jefferson or Marshall, but rather on a plane with Polk and Pierce, and superior to Hayes. Those Republicans who voted for him for Mayor and Governor have never regretted it, but they can hardly do so for President unless they change their principles, and give up for what they have been working the last quarter of a century."

IV.

THE MAYOR OF BUFFALO.

THUS far the mayoralty of Buffalo had not been distinguished for any notable government, nor had it dispensed through its incumbent any broad intellectuality. In this department the city's need to keep pace with its progression was sadly felt. Somehow or other prominent citizens could not be induced to enter much in the works of the municipality, and the sluggishness of all affairs in which care, enterprise, and prosperity were demanded was deplorable. Ring rule had run rampant, the Common Council danced for its own interest, and the people were paying the fiddler. In the autumn of 1881 the election for the new Mayor was to occur. There was much speculation by Democrats and Republicans. The Democrats finally hit upon Grover Cleveland, and it is no exaggeration to say that he was absolutely forced by endless persuasion to accept the nomination. The result was a triumph; it was an uprising of all the honest people for reform and sagacious government, and Grover Cleveland was suddenly lifted into national prominence by his election with a majority of 3,500—the largest majority ever given a candidate for Mayor—although the Republicans carried Buffalo by over one thousand majority for their State ticket. In accepting the nomination Mr. Cleveland had said :

"GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION : I am informed that you have bestowed upon me the nomination for the office of Mayor. It certainly is a great honor to be thought fit to be the chief officer of a great and prosperous city like ours, having such important and varied interests. I hoped that your choice might fall upon some other and more worthy member of the city Democracy, for personal and private considerations have made the question of acceptance on my part a difficult one. *But because I am a Democrat*, and because I think no one has a right at this time of all others to consult his own inclinations as against the call of his party and fellow-citizens, and hoping that I may be of use to you in your efforts to inaugurate a better rule in municipal affairs, I accept the nomination tendered to me. . . . I am assured that the result of the campaign upon which we enter to day will demonstrate that the citizens of Buffalo will not tolerate the man or the party who has been unfaithful to public trusts. I say these things to a convention of Democrats because I know that the grand old party is honest, and they cannot be unwelcome to you. Let us then in all sincerity promise the people an improvement in our municipal affairs ; and if the opportunity is offered to us, as it surely will be, let us faithfully keep that promise. By this means, and by this means alone, can our success rest upon a firm foundation and our party ascendancy be permanently assured. Our opponents will wage a bitter and determined warfare ; but with united and hearty effort we shall achieve a victory for our entire ticket. And at this day, and with my record before you, I trust it is unnecessary for me to pledge to you my most earnest endeavors to bring about this result ; and if elected to the position for which you have nominated me, I shall do my whole duty to the party ; but none the less I hope to the citizens of Buffalo."

Mr. Cleveland's inaugural message defined the man. It rang the keynote of reform and it was the declaration of honesty and truth. Listen :

"We hold the money of the people in our hands, to be used for their purposes and to further their interests as members of the municipality, and it is quite apparent that, when any part of the funds which the taxpayers have thus intrusted us are diverted to other purposes, or when, by design or neglect, we allow a greater sum to be applied to any municipal purpose than is necessary, we have, to that extent, violated our duty. There surely is no difference in his duties and obligations,

whether a person is intrusted with the money of one man or many. And yet it sometimes appears as though the office-holder assumes that a different rule of fidelity prevails between him and the taxpayers than that which should regulate his conduct when, as an individual, he holds the money of his neighbor.

"It seems to me that a successful and faithful administration of the government of our city may be accomplished by constantly bearing in mind that we are the trustees and agents of our fellow-citizens, holding their funds in sacred trust, to be expended for their benefit ; that we should at all times be prepared to render an honest account of them, touching the manner of their expenditure ; and that the affairs of the city should be conducted, as far as possible, upon the same principles as a good business man manages his private concerns."

The first thing Mayor Cleveland did for the city was to save a misuse of public funds to the extent of \$109,000 in a street-sweeping contract, and \$803,630 in a like perversion in the case of a sewer contract.

The Common Council had determined to build an intercepting sewer, and had advertised for proposals. The lowest bid for the work was \$1,568,000. Mr. Cleveland thought the sewer could be built cheaper if a committee of citizens had charge of its construction. Through his efforts, though opposed in the council, a law was passed allowing a commission to be appointed. The commission, composed of representative citizens, conferred with the most eminent sewer engineers of country, and on their advice have adopted a plan which will meet all requirements, at an estimated cost of \$764,370. The plan has been accepted by the council, and the sewer will be constructed accordingly. On the 19th the council voted to award the street-cleaning contract, for five years, to George Talbot, at his bid of \$422,500. There were several lower bids by other responsible men. Mayor Cleveland vetoed the award, severely condemning the attempted waste

ple's money. The contract was subsequently awarded to the lowest bidder—Captain Thomas Maytham—at \$313,500. The amount saved on these two items during the first six months of Mayor Cleveland's administration was nearly one million dollars.

There was something unique in Buffalo city government when Mr. Cleveland spoke out as follows :

"I am not aware that any excuse is offered for the acceptance of this proposal, thus increased, except the very flimsy one that the lower bidders cannot afford to do the work for the sums they name.

"This extreme tenderness and consideration for those who desire to contract with the city, and this touching and paternal solicitude lest they should be improvidently led into a bad bargain is, I am sure, an exception to general business rules, and seems to have no place in this selfish, sordid world, except as found in the administration of municipal affairs.

"The charter of your city requires that the Mayor, when he disapproves any resolution of your honorable body, shall return the same with his objections.

"This is a time for plain speech, and my objection to the action of your honorable body now under consideration shall be plainly stated. I withhold my assent from the same, because I regard it as the culmination of a most barefaced, impudent, and shameless scheme to betray the interests of the people and to worse than squander the public money.

"I will not be misunderstood in this matter. There are those whose votes were given for this resolution whom I cannot and will not suspect of a wilful neglect of the interests they are sworn to protect ; but it has been fully demonstrated that there are influences, both in and about your honorable body, which it behooves every honest man to watch and avoid with the greatest care.

"When cool judgment rules the hour, the people will, I hope and believe, have no reason to complain of the action of your honorable body. But clumsy appeals to prejudice or passion, insinuations, with a kind of low, cheap cunning, as to the motives and purposes of others, and the mock heroism of brazen effrontery which openly declares that a wholesome public sentiment is to be set at naught, sometimes deceives and leads honest men to aid in the consummation of schemes which, if exposed, they would look upon with abhorrence.

"If the scandal in connection with this street-cleaning contract, which has so aroused our citizens, shall cause them to select and watch with more care those to whom they intrust their interests, and if it serves to make all of us who are charged with official duties more careful in their performance, it will not be an unmitigated evil.

"We are fast gaining positions in the grades of public stewardship. There is no middle ground. Those who are not for the people either in or out of your honorable body are against them, and should be treated accordingly."

But this is all merely a sample of Mr. Cleveland's good faith with honesty and the people. In every step of his work he exhibited some new trait of character that vouched for the noble conduct of the man. Rather than give away public money for objects meritorious though not public, he often contributed from his own pocket, and on one occasion he sent out the following message :

"BUFFALO, May 8, 1882.

"At the last session of your honorable body a resolution was adopted directing the city clerk to draw a warrant for five hundred dollars in favor of the Secretary of the Firemen's Benevolent Association.

"This action is not only clearly unauthorized, but it is distinctly prohibited by the following clause of the State Constitution :

"'No county, city, town, or village shall hereafter give any money or property, or loan its money or credit to, or in aid of any individual, association or corporation, or become directly or indirectly the owner of stock in or bonds of any association or corporation ; nor shall any such county, city, town, or village be allowed to incur any indebtedness except for county, city, town, or village purpose.'

"At the same meeting of your honorable body the following resolution was passed :

"'That the city clerk be, and he is thereby directed to draw a warrant on the 4th of July fund for five hundred dollars to the order of J. S. Edwards, Chairman of the Decoration Day Committee of the Grand Army of the Republic, for the purpose of defraying the expenses attending a proper observance of Decoration Day.'

"I have taxed my ingenuity to discover a way to consistently approve of this resolution, but have been unable to do so.

"It seems to me that it is not only obnoxious to the provisions of the constitution above quoted, but it also violates that section of the charter of the city which makes it a misdemeanor to appropriate money raised for one purpose to any other object. Under this section I think money raised 'for the celebration of the 4th of July and the reception of distinguished persons' cannot be devoted to the observance of Decoration Day.

"I deem the object of this appropriation a most worthy one. The efforts of our veteran soldiers to keep alive the memory of their fallen comrades certainly deserves the aid and encouragement of their fellow-citizens. We should all, I think, feel it a duty and a privilege to contribute to the funds necessary to carry out such a purpose. And I should be much disappointed if an appeal to our citizens for voluntary subscriptions for this patriotic object should be in vain.

"But the money so contributed should be a free gift of the citizens and taxpayers, and should not be extorted from them by taxation. This is so, because the purpose for which this money is asked does not involve their protection or interest as members of the community, and it may or may not be approved by them.

"The people are forced to pay taxes into the city treasury only upon the theory that such money shall be expended for public purposes, or purposes in which they all have a direct and practical interest.

"The logic of this position leads directly to the conclusion that, if the people are forced to pay their money into the public fund and it is spent by their servants and agents for purposes in which the people as taxpayers have no interest, the exaction of such taxes from them is oppressive and unjust.

"I cannot rid myself of the idea that this city government, in its relation to the taxpayers, is a business establishment, and that it is put in our hands to be conducted on business principles.

"This theory does not admit of our donating the public funds in the manner contemplated by the action of your honorable body.

"I deem it my duty, therefore, to return both of the resolutions herein referred to without my approval."

In support of this ~~message~~ Mayor Cleveland headed a subscription with a liberal sum, and the citizens approving his action the fund was raised very quickly.

In reference to this Mr. James N. Matthews, editor of the *Buffalo Express*, the leading Republican paper, said :

“A whole volume of sound sense and just principles of municipal government will be found condensed in a brief veto sent to the council yesterday by Mayor Cleveland. It is refreshing to read the message. Appropriations of the public funds must not be made except in accordance with law. Safeguards provided by the constitution and the charter must be respected. The money raised by taxation must not be diverted from its legitimate objects. However worthy the sentiment recognized in any misappropriation, justice, not generosity, must prevail. When the council wrongfully votes away the people's money, there is no credit in the act, because the money, having been extorted from the people, is not a free gift from that body. The city government is a business establishment and must be conducted on business principles. All these golden rules are laid down in disapproving a vote of \$500 for Decoration Day—a small sum for a worthy object ; but, as the Mayor shows, it is not for the amount of the appropriation nor the merit of it, but the principle involved, which must be considered. Private bounty ought to be equal to such a call ; and then, to prove that he thinks so, Mr. Cleveland privately contributes one-tenth of the whole sum needed, thus supplementing excellent principle by liberal example.”

Public morals were also an essential element in the city's good government, and deploring certain matters Mayor Cleveland thus addressed the council :

“My attention has been called, by a committee from the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, to the number of small boys and girls found upon our streets at late hours in the night.

“I have reason to believe that many of these children are allowed, and some are obliged, by their parents to thus remain in the streets for the ostensible purpose of earning money by selling newspapers or blacking boots. In truth, however, after a certain hour in the evening, the most, if not all the money they receive, they obtain by begging or by false pretences. In the meantime they are subjected to the worst influences, leading directly to profligacy, vagrancy, and crime.

“The importance of caring for children who are uncared for by their natural guardians, or who are unmindful of parental restraint, must be

apparent to all. In the future, for good or evil, their influence will be felt in the community ; and certainly the attempt to prevent their swelling the criminal class is worth an effort.

“It seems to me that no pretext should be permitted to excuse allowing young girls to be on the streets at improper hours, since the result must necessarily be their destruction.

“The disposition of the boy (child though he be) to aid in his own support or that of others, in an honest, decent way, ought not to be discouraged. But this does not call for his being in the street at late hours, to his infinite damage morally, mentally, and physically, and to the danger of society.

“I respectfully suggest that this subject be referred to the Committee on Ordinances and the attorney, and that a committee from the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children be invited to co-operate with them in an effort to frame an ordinance which will remedy the evil herein considered.”

On July 3, 1882, Buffalo celebrated its semi-centennial celebration, and rather proudly too. In juxtaposition with building decoration, banners bearing the portrait of Grover Cleveland were to be seen in almost every block, accompanying the portrait of the first Mayor. For the first time in the fifty years' history of the splendid city, the Mayor held a prominence that cheered Democrat and Republican. In his address on the occasion he said in regard to the duties of citizenship :

. . . “And in this our day of pride and self-gratification, there is, I think, one lesson at least, which we may learn from the men who have come down to us from a former generation. In the day of the infancy of the city which they founded, and for many years afterward, the people loved their city so well that they would only trust the management of its affairs in the strongest and best of hands ; and no man in those days was so engrossed in his own business but he could find some time to devote to public concerns. Read the names of the men who held places in this municipality

fifty years ago, and food for reflection will be found. Is it true that the city of to-day, with its large population, and with its vast and varied interests, needs less and different care than it did fifty years ago?

"We boast of our citizenship to-night. *But this citizenship brings with it duties not unlike those we owe our neighbor and our God.* There is no better time than this for self-examination. He who deems himself too pure and holy to take part in the affairs of his city, will meet the fact that better men than he have thought it their duty to do so. He who cannot spare a moment in his greed and selfishness to devote to public concerns, will, perhaps, find a well-grounded fear that he may become the prey of public plunderers; and he who indolently cares not who administers the government of his city will find that he is living falsely, and in the neglect of his highest duty." . . .

Later, in an address when laying the corner-stone of the Young Men's Christian Association Building, September 7, 1882, he said:

. . . "We all hope and expect that our city has entered upon a course of unprecedented prosperity and growth. But to my mind not all the signs about us point more surely to real greatness than the event which we here celebrate. *Good and pure government lies at the foundation of the wealth and progress of every community.* As the chief executive of this proud city, I congratulate all my fellow-citizens that to-day we lay the foundation-stone of an edifice which shall be a beautiful ornament, and, what is more important, shall enclose within its walls such earnest Christian endeavors as must make easier all our efforts to administer safely and honestly a good municipal government."

You may be sure, is
written by my own hand

Yours very truly
Yours Charles

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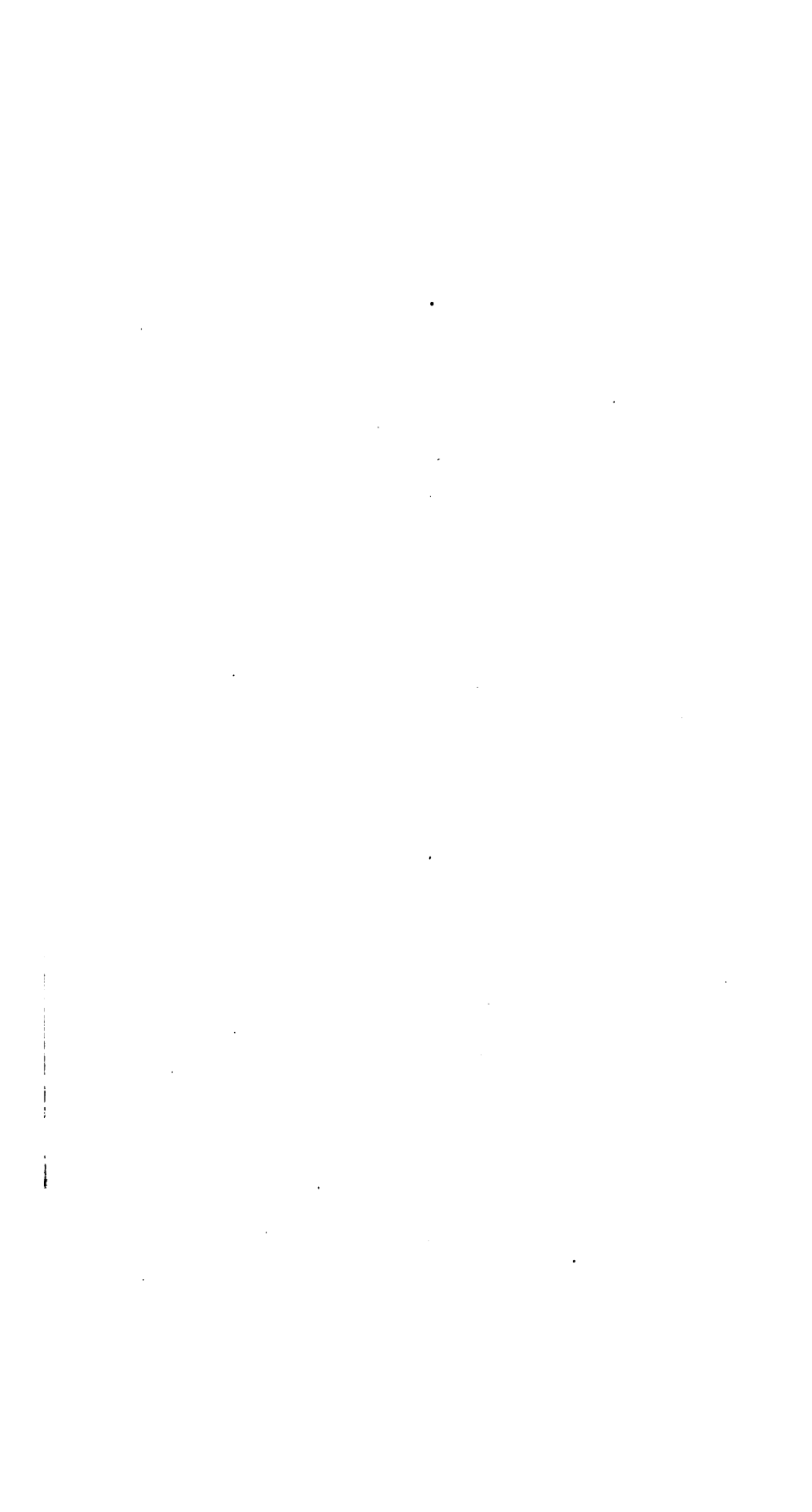
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You are quite right!

When you explain that the
character of the system I have,
and the claims upon my
time arising from the Re-
surrection of the Congress,
under its legitimate law are
to personally sustain all the
letters I receive, And that



V.

THE CHARACTER OF THE MAN.

THE amenities of life are its surprises ; the destinies of men are simply its circumstances, and of these Grover Cleveland seems to be a creature. A succession of curious accidents, each one discovering more and more the fitness of a man, has been the evolution of a character the intellectuality and value of which might have remained latent, unheard, unseen, obscure.

You may call an individual "a man of destiny" if you will, and philosophic speculation may assist you toward recovering an unwonted measure of fortunate moves directed by no other force than the sudden inclination of the moment, which a fatalist would pronounce providential. But circumstance has most to do with Grover Cleveland's remarkable opportunities. Had he sought fame ; had he sought any particular favor ; had he been governed by vain ambition, he would have been beset by difficulties at every turn. If Grover Cleveland had not been elected Mayor of Buffalo, he would not have been elected Governor of New York, and who will say that the events which brought him to the mayoralty were not the slightest contingency ? Yet this argues neither ~~for~~ against the man. He is what he is.

Now Grover Cleveland was just
of Erie County. It was a

fifty years ago, and food for reflection will be found. Is it true that the city of to-day, with its large population, and with its vast and varied interests, needs less and different care than it did fifty years ago?

"We boast of our citizenship to-night. *But this citizenship brings with it duties not unlike those we owe our neighbor and our God.* There is no better time than this for self-examination. He who deems himself too pure and holy to take part in the affairs of his city, will meet the fact that better men than he have thought it their duty to do so. He who cannot spare a moment in his greed and selfishness to devote to public concerns, will, perhaps, find a well-grounded fear that he may become the prey of public plunderers; and he who indolently cares not who administers the government of his city will find that he is living falsely, and in the neglect of his highest duty." . . .

Later, in an address when laying the corner-stone of the Young Men's Christian Association Building, September 7, 1882, he said:

. . . "We all hope and expect that our city has entered upon a course of unprecedented prosperity and growth. But to my mind not all the signs about us point more surely to real greatness than the event which we here celebrate. *Good and pure government lies at the foundation of the wealth and progress of every community.* As the chief executive of this proud city, I congratulate all my fellow-citizens that to-day we lay the foundation-stone of an edifice which shall be a beautiful ornament, and, what is more important, shall enclose within its walls such earnest Christian endeavors as must make easier all our efforts to administer safely and honestly a good municipal government."

You may be sure, is
written by my own hand

Yours very truly
Yours Charles

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Yours truly be sure, is
written by my own hand

Yours truly
Yours Charles

with a large pile of manuscript at his elbow. On my inquiring what he was up to at that late hour, he retorted :

“‘Ha ! I am reeling off reams of copper-plate !’

“It was his brief in a celebrated bridge case.”

Grover Cleveland realizes the value of early education. His own struggles have evolved the ideas expressed in the following speech at the Albany High School, 1883 :

“I accepted the invitation of your principal to visit your school this morning with pleasure, because I expected to see much that would gratify and interest me. In this I have not been disappointed. But I must confess that if I had known that my visit here involved my attempting to address you, I should have hesitated, and quite likely have declined the invitation.

“I hasten to assure you now that there is not the slightest danger of my inflicting a speech upon you, and that I shall do but little more than to express my pleasure in the proof I have of the excellence of the methods and management of the school, and of the opportunities which those who attend have within their reach of obtaining a superior education.

“I never visit a school in these days without contrasting the advantages of the scholar of to-day with those of a time not many years in the past. Within my remembrance even, the education which is freely offered you, was only secured by those whose parents were able to send them to academies and colleges. And thus, when you entered this school very many of you began where your parents left off.

“The theory of the State in furnishing more and better schools for the children is that it tends to fit them to better perform their duties as citizens, and that an educated man or woman is apt to be more useful as a member of the community.

“This leads to the thought that those who avail themselves of the means thus tendered them are in duty bound to make such use of their advantages as that the State shall receive in return the educated and intelligent citizens and members of the community which it has the right to expect from its schools. You, who will soon be the men of the day, should consider that you have assumed an obligation to fit yourselves by the education, which you may, if you will, receive in this school, for

the proper performance of any duty of citizenship, and to fill any public station to which you may be called. And it seems to me to be none the less important that those who are to be the wives and mothers should be educated, refined, and intelligent. To tell the truth, I should be afraid to trust the men, educated though they should be, if they were not surrounded by pure and true womanhood. Thus it is that you all, now and here, from the oldest to the youngest, owe a duty to the State which can only be answered by diligent study and the greatest possible improvement. It is too often the case that in all walks and places the disposition is to render the least possible return to the State for the favors which she bestows.

"If the consideration which I have mentioned fails to impress you, let me remind you of what you have often heard, that you owe it to yourselves and the important part of yourselves, to seize, while you may, the opportunities to improve your minds, and store into them, for your own future use and advantage, the learning and knowledge now fairly within your reach.

"None of you desire or expect to be less intelligent or educated than your fellows. But unless the notions of scholars have changed, there may be those among you who think that in some way or manner, after the school day is over, there will be an opportunity to regain any ground now lost, and to complete an education without a present devotion to school requirements. I am sure this is a mistake. A moment's reflection ought to convince all of you that when you have once entered upon the stern, uncompromising, and unrelenting duties of mature life, there will be no time for study. You will have a contest then forced upon you which will strain every nerve and engross every faculty. A good education, if you have it, will aid you ; but if you are without it, you cannot stop to acquire it. When you leave the school you are well equipped for the van in the army of life, or you are doomed to be a lag-gard, aimlessly and listlessly following in the rear.

"Perhaps a reference to truths so trite is useless here. I hope it is. But I have not been able to forego the chance to assure those who are hard at work that they will surely see their compensation, and those, if any such there are, who find school duties irksome, and neglect or slightly perform them, that they are trifling with serious things and treading on dangerous ground."

His appreciation of enterprise and thrift, his admiration for the things which refine and elevate, and his

respect for the German element is made plain in the following address, which was delivered at the inaugural ceremonies of Music Hall (erected by the Germans of Buffalo), and the twenty-third National Saengerfest, July 17, 1883 :

"I have come to join my fellow-townsmen and their visitors in the exercises which inaugurate a festival of music and of song and a season of social enjoyment.

"It may be safely said, I think, that no one who has called this his home, and who has enjoyed a residence in this beautiful city, and has learned the kindness of its people ever forgets these things or fails to experience satisfaction in whatever adds to the prestige of the city and the pride and enjoyment of its inhabitants. And thus it is that I am here to-night at my home, claiming, as an old citizen of Buffalo, my full share of the pleasures which Buffalonians appropriate to themselves on this occasion.

"I am glad that our State has within its borders a city containing German enterprise enough and enough of German love of music to secure to itself the honor and distinction of being selected as the place where this national festival is held. I desire to feel free to-night from official responsibility and restraint, and as a private citizen to join in welcoming our guests to my home ; but I will not forbear, as the executive of the great State of New York, and on behalf of the people, to extend to those here assembled from other States a hearty greeting. At this moment the reflection is uppermost in my mind that we owe much to the German element among our people. Their thrift and industry have added much to our growth and prosperity. The sad and solemn victims of American overwork may learn of them that labor may be well done, and at the same time recreation and social enjoyment have their places in a busy life. They have also brought to us their music and their song, which have done much to elevate, refine, and improve, and to demonstrate that nature's language is as sweet as when the morning stars sang together.

"I am inclined to think that a music-loving people are not apt to be a bad people, and it may well be hoped that occasions like this will tend to make the love and attraction of music more universal in our land. We hear sometimes of the assimilation of the people of different nationalities who have made their homes upon American soil. As this

process goes on, let the German love of music be carefully included, to the end that the best elements of human nature may be improved and cultivated, and American life be made more joyous and happy.

"I must not detain you longer ; better things await you. To the stranger guest I pledge a cordial hospitality at the hands of the Germans of Buffalo. I know the warmth of heart and the kindliness of disposition of those having you in charge, and no other guarantee is needed.

"To my fellow-townsmen who have labored thus far so faithfully in preparation for this occasion, I cannot forbear saying, your most delicate and difficult work will not be done until your guests depart, declaring the twenty-third the most successful and enjoyable saengerfest upon the list, and confessing that the most cordial and hospitable entertainers are the Germans of Buffalo."

At the Oswegatchie Fair, held at Ogdensburg, October 5, 1883, Mr. Cleveland's address was a nut worth cracking, and full of meat. He said :

"LADIES AND GENTLEMEN : When I received the invitation of the president of this fair to be with you to-day, I could hardly see my way to accept, because I find that the duties of the office to which I have been called are of such a nature that I can scarcely do all that crowds upon me, with quite constant attention. But the more I considered the question of visiting you the stronger the desire became to accept the invitation. I remembered that I had never been here but once, many years ago, and then for only a night. I wanted to know more of the largest county in the State. I wanted to see your thriving and pleasant city. I thought of the opportunity I should have of seeing something of the kind and quality of your products ; and, more than all, I wanted to see and become better acquainted with the people here, who, from lack of familiarity, seemed so far away. And then, too, I reflected that I was the servant of the people of the State ; and inasmuch as they could not all come to see how their servants are doing their duty, it is no more than right that these servants should occasionally go to their masters and report—or at least answer to their names. Thus I am here ; but I came upon the express condition that I shall not make a speech. And the little talk I may have here with my friends of St. Lawrence County I do not regard as either a speech or an address.

"Broad fields, well tilled, not only secure comfort and an income to the farmer, but build up the commerce of the State and easily supply the

wants of the population. None of these things result except by labor. This is the magic wand whose touch creates wealth and a great State. So all of us who work are, in our several ways, engaged in building to a higher reach and nobler proportions the fabric of a proud commonwealth. Those who make and execute the laws join with those who toil from day to day with their hands in their several occupations, all alike engaged in building up and protecting the State.

"The institution of fairs such as this, must, it seems to me, have a wholesome and beneficial effect. In addition to the competition engendered, which spurs to more effort and better methods, the opportunity is afforded to profit by the experience of others. The State has shown an appreciation of the value of experiment in agriculture, by establishing and maintaining, at considerable expense, a farm for the express purpose of devising and proving the value of new plans and operations in farming. The results are freely offered to all, and thus the farmer may gain a knowledge of methods which will render his labor more profitable, without the risk of loss in the time which he himself might spend in experiment. I have no doubt that the soil of the State of New York is tilled well and intelligently. And still I suppose much of our farming might be improved by a closer regard to successful experiment, and by learning the lessons of approved science as applied to agriculture. I do not fear, however, that the farmers of New York will stop short of the highest excellence. The people of this State are not given to that.

"While I, in this manner, urge you to claim from the soil all it has to yield, by the aid of intelligent efforts in its cultivation, I cannot refrain from reminding you that, as citizens, you have something else to do. You have the responsibility of citizenship upon you, and you should see to it that you do your duty to the State, not only by increasing its wealth by the cultivation and improvement of the soil, but by an intelligent selection of those who shall act for you in the enactment and execution of your laws. Weeds and thistles, if allowed in your fields, defeat your toil and efforts. So abuses in the administration of your government lead to the dishonor of your State, choke and thwart the wishes of the people, and waste their substance.

"I have heard it said that a farm or business never does better than when it is managed by its owner.

"So it is with your government. It accomplishes its purposes and operates well only when it is managed by the people and for the people. It was designed and constructed to be used in just this way. None of you would attempt to turn the soil of a field without putting a strong

hand on the plow. A plow was constructed to be thus operated, and it can do its work in no other way. The machinery of the government will not do its work unless the strong, steady hands of the people are put upon it. This is not done when the people say that politics is a disgraceful game, and should be left untouched by those having private concerns and business which engage their attention. This neglect serves to give over the most important interests to those who care but little for their protection, and who are willing to betray their trust for their own advantage.

"Manifestly, in this matter, the people can only act through agents of their selection. But that selection should be freely and intelligently made by the careful exercise of their suffrages.

"I have said this duty should not be neglected. A careless or mistaken performance may be as fatal as neglect.

"All cannot personally know the applicants for office ; but by careful inquiry their characters for fair dealing and honesty, and the manner in which they have fulfilled the ordinary duties of life, may be discovered as well as the ability they have shown in the management of their own affairs. Do their neighbors and those who know them well trust them, and are they willing to put in their hands important interests? Are their personal habits and their personal and private relations good, and pure and clean?

"I believe that in the selection of those who shall act for the people in the government a better rule cannot be adopted than the one suggested by these inquiries.

"If they are answered satisfactorily, the people will probably conclude that they have found the men they wish to put in public places, even though they lack a knowledge of the arts and wiles which tricksters use to deceive and mislead.

"Be diligent, then, in your business, and willing and anxious to improve and expand it. This you owe to yourselves, to your families, and to the public. Be also diligent and careful in the performance of your political duty. This you owe none the less to yourselves and to the State.

"With every obligation thus discharged, your welfare and prosperity will be secured, and you may congratulate yourselves upon the honorable part you bear in the support and maintenance of a free and beneficent government."

A correspondent of the *New York World* reflected well the worth of Grover Cleveland's life when he wrote :

“Grover Cleveland, both in his record and in his person, impressed me as peculiarly the outcome and result of what is best and most enduring in American life. As we have already seen, he started like the typical American boy to hew his own way. We hear a great deal nowadays about men being all American. Obviously there are some American things which a man had better be without. It is not pleasant to contemplate a man whose character reflects the heterogeneous and discordant elements of our complex life. Nor is it safe to trust with the heavy responsibilities that man whose chief element of Americanism is impatience of restraint, disrespect for the past, and an unswerving desire to be smart rather than right. The best elements of our American life have always come up from the hardy, vigorous stratum that was nearest to the soil and in some way depended on it. The abiding glory of the country has been in its defiant boys with God-fearing ancestors ; boys who had organized in them, by a race of humble but devout pioneers, the patience and industry to achieve and the reverence to respect. It is to men of this fibre that the Republic has always gone in its emergencies—turning in extremity from its politicians, its doctrinaires and its workers of statecraft, back to the elemental, vital, honest forces that underlie all its achievements, and that are oftenest found in the sturdy, modest, indomitable workers who have not sought the political race.”

VI.

GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK.

THE nomination of Grover Cleveland for the Governor of New York by the Democrats undoubtedly surprised him more than it did any one else. Previous to the meeting of the Democratic State Convention in Syracuse, September 22, 1882, the possibility of his nomination had been discussed first in Buffalo. His conduct of the mayoralty had won for him considerable prominence. In fact, it might be said that he had found a national reputation as "the model mayor," and "the man of vetoes," for his courageous action and admirable executive work. I hardly think when his name was first suggested at a small Democratic meeting in Buffalo there was any serious idea, beyond the few first assembled, that Grover Cleveland stood any sort of a chance. Eventually the desire spread to "boom" his name, and "Cleveland Clubs" sprang up in the most unexpected places. One of the daily papers at last fell into line, the real friends of Cleveland began to look seriously upon the possibility, and finally, when the fever was at its highest in Buffalo, it broke out through the State. From one end of the land to the other the press commented on the career of the man and commended him as a fit executive for the State. "Reform!" was the cry, and this was the motive of the nomination. The

New York *Sun* was conspicuous in its eulogy, and said :

"Grover Cleveland, now Mayor of Buffalo and the Democratic candidate for Governor of New York, is a man worthy of the highest public confidence. No one can study the record of his career since he has held office in Buffalo without being convinced that he possesses those highest qualities of a public man, sound principles of administrative duty, luminous intelligence and courage to do what is right no matter who may be pleased or displeased thereby." (Here follow extracts from Mayor Cleveland's inaugural.) "We wish that the utterances we have now quoted might be read and pondered by every citizen of the State. No matter what political faith a man may have been educated in, no matter by what party name he may now prefer to be called, no one can consider such principles and sentiments as these declared by Mr. Cleveland without feeling that such a public officer is worthy of the confidence and support of the whole people, and that the interests of the Empire State will be entirely safe in his hands."

The State Convention duly met and Grover Cleveland was nominated on the third ballot for Governor. His election is fresh in the minds of everyone. The campaign was well fought and ended in triumph. He was elected by a majority of 192,000, the largest ever given in any State in the Union.

On the evening of December 6, the Manhattan Club of New York City gave a reception to the Governor-elect. In 1874 a like attention was paid to Governor Tilden. The club house is at the corner of Fifth Avenue and Fifteenth Street. About two hundred and fifty invitations similar to the following had been given out to leading Democrats throughout the State.

THE MANHATTAN CLUB

requests the pleasure of your company on Tuesday evening, December 5th, at nine o'clock, to meet the Honorable Grover Cleveland.

R. S. V. P.

No. 96 Fifth Avenue.

The immense parlors of the club were thronged.*

Governor-elect Cleveland arrived at about nine o'clock, and took a position in the centre of the large

* The guests numbered nearly eight hundred, and among them were the following distinguished Democrats :

General Winfield Scott Hancock and staff, Peter Cooper, ex-Mayor Edward Cooper, Governor Waller of Connecticut, Congressman Abram S. Hewitt, State Treasurer Robert A. Maxwell, Chief Judge-elect William C. Ruger, Mayor-elect Franklin Edson, Mayor Grace, Congressman-elect William Dorsheimer, Congressman Perry Belmont, ex-Governor John T. Hoffman, E. K. Apgar, Congressman-elect Edward Wemple, Wilson S. Bissell of Buffalo, ex-Mayor Edward Murphy, Jr., of Troy, Honorable John O'Brien, of Dutchess, William E. Smith, of Plattsburg, Honorable Alton B. Parker, of Ulster, August Belmont, John T. Agnew, Honorable Charles F. MacLean, Honorable J. Hampden Robb, Honorable Henry H. Porter, Assemblyman-elect Charles S. Cary, of Cattaraugus, General Martin T. McMahon, Honorable William C. Whitney, Peter B. Olney, Francis Lynde Stetson, D. S. Lamont, Congressman S. S. Cox, Honorable John Kelly, ex-Governor Bedle, of New Jersey, General Charles Hughes, Honorable William B. Ruggles, Colonel C. C. Lodewick, Colonel David C. Robinson, Charles P. Bacon, Charles L. Goodyear, S. M. Welch, Jr., Franklin Locke, G. W. Hayward, and C. W. McCune, of Buffalo, W. C. Whitney, B. B. Smalley, Amasa J. Parker, M. R. Williams, Senators Jacobs, Grady, Fitzgerald, and Daly, Allen Campbell, John H. Van Antwerp, John A. McCall, Jr., Edward Hackett, William G. Rice, Augustus Schoonmaker, Alton B. Parker, Henry J. Mory, Francis G. Babcock, Isaac N. Cox, Alfred E. Chapin, Roswell P. Flower, Senator A. P. Jones, John H. Bagley, Jr., Daniel B. Judson, Rosewell A. Parmenter, Congressman-elect, J. Thomas Spriggs, ex-Lieutenant-Governor Allen C. Beach, Maurice J. Power, E. W. Paige, S. T. Benedict, Orlando B. Potter, Congressman-elect Henry W. Slocum, Senator Homer A. Nelson, George W. Weiant, Augustus Schell, ex-Superintendent of Public Works B. S. W. Clark, Erastus Brooks, Samuel W. Johnson.

reception rooms, between A. J. Vanderpoel and John T. Agnew, and for an hour shook hands with the members of the club and guests, who were presented to him by W. W. Agnew. After the reception a most sumptuous collation was served in the dining and reception rooms on the main floor. The table presented a grand sight, being exquisitely decorated with flowers and patriotic emblems.

Governor Cleveland's health was proposed by the president of the Manhattan Club, Hon. Aaron J. Vanderpoel, who welcomed the guest with the assurance of the good will and confidence of all Democrats, and wished him success in his undertakings. The office, he said, had weighty responsibilities, but he knew Mr. Cleveland would discharge his duties fearlessly and uprightly, citing his past record in other public offices.

In response Governor-elect Cleveland said :

"We stand to-night in the full glare of a grand and brilliant manifestation of the popular will, and in the light of it how vain and small appear the tricks of politicians and the movements of partisan machinery. He must be blind who cannot see that the people well understand their power, and are determined to use it when their rights and interests are threatened. There should be no skepticism to-night as to the strength and perpetuity of our government. Partisan leaders have learned, too, that the people will not unwittingly, and blindly, follow, and that something more than wavering devotion to party is necessary to secure their allegiance. I am quite certain that the late demonstration did not spring from any pre-existing love for the party which was called to power, nor did the people put the affairs of the State in our hands to be by them forgotten. They voted for themselves, and in their own interest. If we retain their confidence, we must deserve it, and we may be sure they will call on us to give an account of our stewardship. We shall utterly fail to read aright the signs of the times if we are not fully convinced that parties are but instruments through which the people work out their will, and that when they become less or more, the people desert or destroy them. The vanquished have

lately learned these things, and the victors will act wisely if they profit by the lesson. I have read and heard much of late touching the great responsibilities cast upon me, and it is certainly predicated upon the fact that my majority was so large as to indicate that many not members of the party to which I am proud to belong, supported me. God knows how fully I appreciate the responsibilities of the high office to which I have been called, and how much I sometimes fear that I shall not bear the burden well. It has seemed to me that a citizen who has been chosen by his fellows to discharge public duties owes no less nor more to them whether he is selected by a small or a large majority. In either event he owes to the people who honored him his best endeavors to carefully protect their rights and further their interests. An administration is only successful in a partisan sense when it appears to be an outgrowth and result of party principles and methods. These honored doctrines of the Democratic party are dear to me. If honestly applied in their purity I know that the affairs of the government will be fittingly and honestly administered, and I believe that all the wants and needs of the people would be met. They have survived all changes, and good, patriotic men have clung to them through all disasters as the hope of political salvation. Let us hold them as a sacred trust, and not forget that the intelligent, thinking, reading people will look to a party which they put in power to supply all their various needs and wants, and that the party which keeps pace with the developments and progress of the times, which keeps in sight its landmarks and yet observes the things which are in advance, and which will continue true to the people as well as to its traditions, will be the dominant party of the future. My only aspiration is to faithfully perform the duties of the office to which the people of my State have called me, and I hope and trust a proud endeavor will light the way to a successful administration."

On January 1, 1883, Grover Cleveland was inaugurated Governor. He went to Albany the day before in company with his law partner, Mr. Bissell, and the night quietly at the executive mansion. The day of the ceremonies the streets were crowded. Governor-elect made his way through the throng, unrecognized. In the Executive Chamber he was met by Governor Cornell and when to

the transfer were concluded, Governor Cleveland threw off all ostentation in the office, gave an order to do away with all red tape, and admit every one directly. Then he went to work. From that day "seeing the Governor" could be done without much formality; official parade was dispensed with, and every morning at nine o'clock Governor Cleveland walked to his office and kept close at his work until late at night, excepting of course the hour of meal time. He chose for his Secretary, Mr. Daniel T. Lamont, a man both popular and good, and between them both a prodigious amount of work has been performed.

VII.

THE GOVERNOR'S FIRST MESSAGE.

THE annual messages of Grover Cleveland for the first two years of his administration as Governor of the State of New York are characteristic and marked with the sound common sense with which the reader of this biography is, doubtless by this time, well acquainted. His message, transmitted to the Legislature January 2, 1883, first touches upon the finances of the State, and in regard to taxation, says :

“The imperfection of our laws touching the matter of taxation, or the faulty execution of existing statutes on the subject, is glaringly apparent.

“The power of the State to exact from the citizen a part of his earnings and income for the support of the Government, it is obvious should be exercised with absolute fairness and justice. When it is not so exercised, the people are oppressed. This furnishes the highest and the best reason why laws should be enacted and executed which will subject all property, as all alike need the protection of the State, to an equal share in the burdens of taxation, by means of which the Government is maintained. And yet it is notoriously true that personal property, not less remunerative than land and real estate, escapes to a very great extent the payment of its fair proportion of the expense incident to its protection and preservation under the law. The people should always be able to recognize, with the pride and satisfaction which are the strength of our institutions, in the conduct of the State, the source of indiscriminating justice, which can give no pretext for discontent.”

As to his views on Civil Service Reform, Municipal Government, Primary Elections, and Special Legislation, there can be no mistake :

"It is submitted that the appointment of subordinates in the several State departments, and their tenure of office or employment should be based upon fitness and efficiency, and that this principle should be embodied in legislative enactment, to the end that the policy of the State may conform to the reasonable public demand on that subject.

"The formation and administration of the government of cities are subjects of much public interest, and of great importance to many of the inhabitants of the State. The formation of such governments is properly matter for most careful legislation.

"They should be so organized as to be simple in their details and to cast upon the people affected thereby the full responsibility of their administration. The different departments should be in such accord as in their operation to lead toward the same results. Divided counsels and divided responsibility to the people, on the part of municipal officers, it is believed, gives rise to much that is objectionable in the government of cities. If, to remedy this evil, the chief executive should be made answerable to the people for the proper conduct of the city's affairs, it is quite clear that his power in the selection of those who manage its different departments should be greatly enlarged.

"The protection of the people in their primaries will, it is hoped, be secured by the early passage of a law for that purpose, which will rid the present system of the evils which surround it, tending to defraud the people of rights closely connected with their privileges as citizens.

"It is confidently expected that those who represent the people in the present Legislature will address themselves to the enactment of such laws as are for the benefit of all the citizens of the State, to the exclusion of special legislation and interference with affairs which should be managed by the localities to which they pertain.

"It is not only the right of the people to administer their local government, but it should be made their duty to do so. Any departure from this doctrine is an abandonment of the principles upon which our institutions are founded, and a concession of the infirmity and partial failure of the theory of a representative form of government.

"If the aid of the Legislature is invoked to further projects which should be subject to local control and management, suspicion should be

at once aroused, and the interference sought should be promptly and sternly refused.

"If local rule is in any instance bad, weak, or inefficient, those who suffer from mal-administration have the remedy within their own control. If, through their neglect or inattention, it falls into unworthy hands, or if bad methods and practices gain a place in its administration, it is neither harsh nor unjust to remit those who are responsible for those conditions to their self-invited fate, until their interest, if no better motive, prompts them to an earnest and active discharge of the duties of good citizenship."

In concluding he insisted upon a discharge of duties that would show a faithful appreciation of the demands of the people—demands which involved a jealous watch of public funds and a refusal to appropriate funds except for public needs. All unnecessary offices should be abolished, and all employment of doubtful benefit discontinued. The enactment of wise and well-considered laws to meet the varied wants would merit conscientious approval.

VIII.

TAXATION AND CIVIL SERVICE.

GOVERNOR CLEVELAND's attitude on the subjects of taxation and Civil Service is plainly shown in his second message, transmitted to the Legislature January 1, 1884. Let us first see what led to the causes of an increased taxation the first year of his administration of the State's affairs. He said :

“In consequence of the increase in the valuation of the taxable property of the State, the tax rate of three and one-quarter mills on each dollar, fixed by the last Legislature, will raise \$9,334,836.31, an amount considerably in excess of the actual needs of government. The causes which contributed to slightly increase the rate of taxation for the present year, were the adoption of the policy of reserving \$1,000,000 of the surplus then in the treasury to meet current expenses, and the adjustment of the canal finances to the system under which these works are supported by a direct tax upon the people, which required that there should be raised in the present fiscal year, for the Canal Debt Sinking Fund, an amount that otherwise would have been distributed over two years.

“Basing the estimates for the support of government on the cost of the present year, it is evident that a generous appropriation can be made for continuing work on the New Capitol, and that by reason of the increased valuation and the lessening of the canal tax, an extraordinary reduction in the tax rate can still be made for the coming year. In fact, the observance of due care in the appropriation of public funds by the present Legislature, and the exercise of such economy as sound public policy dictates, will reduce the tax levy for the coming year to a point

which has not been reached in TWENTY-FIVE years, and effect a reduction of more than three millions of dollars from the amount raised by direct taxation last year."

The injustice and discrimination apparent in the laws on the subject of taxation, Governor Cleveland deplored ; that it is a vexed question still, and called loudly for relief.

"Strict economy," he said, "in the management of State affairs, by their agents, should furnish the people a good government at the least possible cost. This is common honesty. But to see to it that this cost is fairly and justly distributed, and the burden equally borne by those who have no peaceful redress if the State is unjust, is the best attribute of sovereignty and the highest duty to the citizen. The recognition of this duty characterizes a beneficent government ; but its repudiation marks the oppression of tyrannical power. The taxpayer need not wait till his burden is greater than he can bear for just cause of complaint. However small his tax, he may reasonably protest, if it represents more than his share of the public burden, and the State neglects all effort to apply a remedy."

"The present law permits, in the case of personal property, the indebtedness of its possessor to be deducted from its value, and allows no such deduction in favor of real estate, though it be represented by a mortgage which is a specific lien upon such real estate. Personal property, in need more than any other of the protection of the government, when discovered, escapes taxation to the extent of its owner's indebtedness, though such indebtedness is based upon the ordinary credit in the transaction of business or is fictitious, and manufactured for the temporary purpose of evading taxation. But real property, the existence of which cannot be concealed, is, in contemplation of the law, taxed according to its full valuation, though the incumbrance upon it easily divests the owner of his title, though the interest and perhaps part of the principal must, as well as the tax, annually be met, and though if sold the amount due upon this lien must always be deducted from any sum agreed upon as the price of the land.

"This statement does not necessarily lead to a deduction of the amount of any incumbrance upon real estate from its valuation for the purpose of taxation ; but it does suggest that both real and personal

predilections, and with reasonable assurance of detention and promotion in case of meritorious service, is now the established policy of the State. The children of our citizens are educated and trained in schools maintained at common expense, and the people as a whole have a right to demand the selection for the public service of those whose natural aptitudes have been improved by the educational facilities furnished by the State. The application to the public service of the same rule which prevails in ordinary business, of employing those whose knowledge and training best fit them for the duties at hand, without regard to other considerations, must elevate and improve the civil service and eradicate from it many evils from which it has long suffered. Not the least gratifying of the results which this system promises to accomplish, is relief to public men from the annoyance of importunity in the strife for appointments to subordinate places."

Governor Cleveland has fully exemplified the principle of civil service reform in everything he has done in the way of appointments to office. In his letter of acceptance he had written :

"Subordinates in public place should be selected and retained for their efficiency, and not because they may be used to accomplish partisan ends. The people have a right to demand here, as in cases of private employment, that their money be paid to those who will render the best service in return, and that the appointment to and tenure of such places should depend upon ability and merit. If the clerks and assistants in public departments were paid the same compensation and required to do the same amount of work as those employed in prudently conducted private establishments, the anxiety to hold these public places would be much

diminished and the cause of civil service reform materially aided. The expenditure of money to influence the action of the people at the polls or to secure legislation is calculated to excite the gravest concern. When this pernicious agency is successfully employed a representative form of government becomes a sham, and laws passed under its baleful influence cease to protect, but are made the means by which the rights of the people are sacrificed and the public Treasury despoiled. It is useless and foolish to shut our eyes to the fact that this evil exists among us, and the party which leads in an honest effort to return to better and purer methods will receive the confidence of our citizens and secure their support. It is wilful blindness not to see that the people care but little for party obligations when they are invoked to countenance and sustain fraudulent and corrupt practices. And it is well for our country and for the purification of politics that the people, at times fully roused to danger, remind their leaders that party methods should be something more than a means used to answer the purposes of those who profit by political occupation."

IX.

REFORM WORK.

GOVERNOR CLEVELAND'S work has been directed toward reform, and for this I doubt that many Republicans who helped to elect him regret the vote they cast. In the history of the State there has never been such a hard-working man at the head of its affairs, nor any one who has divested himself so completely of the conceit of it. His executive ability, his honesty in that ability, and his untiring industry in the carrying out of his plans for the good of the people, will always be notable in history.

Let me call specific attention to his first year's work :

Practical civil service reform found a place in the policy of the State.

The prohibition of political assessments upon the employees in the public departments.

Citizens' rights at primary elections established by law.

The formation of a bureau to collect information and statistics regarding the relations between labor and capital.

Prohibiting the sale of forest lands at the source of important streams, thereby checking threatened disaster to the commerce on our water-ways.

Debts and obligations for the payment of money, owned though not actually held within the State, have

been made subject to taxation, thus preventing an unfair evasion of liability for the support of the government.

Business principles have been introduced in the construction and care of the new Capitol and other public buildings, and waste and extravagance thereby prevented.

A law for the better administration of the Emigration Bureau and the prevention of its abuses.

Protection of the people by placing co-operative insurance companies under the control of the insurance department.

Reduction and regulation of the fees of receivers.

The establishment of a court of claims, where the demands of citizens against the State may be properly determined.

In dealing with the acts of the Legislature, Governor Cleveland has studied very carefully every measure brought before him ; not only judging them by what effect they might have in the public interest, but determining whether they were legally consistent. He has totally disregarded all questions of limited benefit, in his seeking to obtain a general good. It has been truly said of him that, as a public servant, he has had neither friends to reward, or enemies to punish ; that he has been peculiarly unversed in the arts of chicanery, destitute of demagoguery, and unwarped by long contact with political complications. His thorough self-reliance, coupled with sound judgment, secures desired reforms in every direction. As mayor of Buffalo, he surprised the street commissioner in refusing to allow the city to pay for his livery, and other city officials were astonished to find that economy meant an end to many of their stolen pleasures. One of his early vetoes was in

the matter of an appropriation of \$1,000 to the family of a laborer who was killed on the construction work of the Capitol. He said : " It costs nothing to be generous with the people's money. If you really sympathize with the family, circulate a private subscription paper. You will find then that I will go as far as any of you in proportion to my resources."

This veto should be engraved in gold ; it should be hung on the walls in the House of Congress. Yet it will be manipulated by the enemies of the party to show that Governor Cleveland is not a friend of the laborer. There is nothing like a political campaign to develop the intellectual lie !

Governor Cleveland co-operated earnestly with Assemblyman Roosevelt, in the last session of the Legislature, for the reformation in New York City affairs, and wrote special messages to the Legislature declaring most emphatically his intention to work reform. The first measure brought before him was to deprive the aldermen of confirming powers. He signed the bill and made the following observation :

" It is objected to this bill that it does not go far enough, and that there should be a re-arrangement of the terms of these officers ; also that some of them should be made elective. This is undoubtedly true ; and I shall be glad to approve further judicious legislation supplementary to this, which shall make the change more valuable and surround it with safeguards in the interests of the citizens. But such further legislation should be well digested and conservative, and above all not proposed for the purpose of gaining a mere partisan advantage. I believe the change made by the provisions of this bill gives opportunity for an improvement in the administration of municipal affairs : and I am satisfied that the

measure violates no right of the people of the locality affected which they now enjoy."

The President of the Board of Aldermen was made an elective officer, and so was the Comptroller. The fee system in the Register's, County Clerk's, Surrogate's, and Sheriff's offices was abolished, and the Register and County Clerk were given salaries. It is admitted that in this way alone New York saves \$200,000 annually.

The Bureau of Elections bill was defeated in the Assembly by Republican votes. This bill placed the control of elections in the hands of a non-partisan commission. At the session of 1883 Mr. Cleveland made his courageous veto of what has been famously known as "The Five-cent Fare Bill," and which I have dealt with more particularly in another chapter. Toward the close of the session Tammany was displeased because Governor Cleveland's appointments in New York City—the commissioners of emigration, quarantine commissioners, and harbor masters—were not pleasing, and he became an especial object of attack by Senator Grady. In his communication to the Senate urging the appointments before the session closed, Governor Cleveland reflected slightly on the motives of the opposition. Senator Grady's wrath knew no bounds, and the Legislature finally adjourned without confirming the appointments.

In concluding his second annual message, Governor Cleveland discussed the affairs of the commonwealth and the country's general prosperity. What is worth printing here; it shows how earnestly he sought to honestly conduct the business of legislation.

"The State of New York largely represents the borders, the development of every interest of a nation great. Proud of her place in the community of States, she fully appreciates

relations to the prosperity of the country ; and justly realizing the responsibility of her position, she recognizes, in her policy and her laws, as of first importance, the freedom of commerce from all unnecessary restrictions. Her citizens have assumed the burden of maintaining, at their own cost, and free to commerce, the waterway which they have built and through which the products of the great West are transported to the sea-board. At the suggestion of danger she hastens to save her northern forests, and thus preserve to commerce her canals and vessel-laden rivers. The State has become responsible for a bureau of immigration, which cares for those who seek our shores from other lands, adding to the nation's population and hastening to the development of its vast domain ; while at the country's gateway a quarantine, established by the State, protects the nation's health.

“Surely this great commonwealth, committed fully to the interests of commerce and all that adds to the country's prosperity, may well inquire how her efforts and sacrifices have been answered ; and she, of all the States, may urge that the interests thus by her protected, should, by the greater government administered for all, be fostered for the benefit of the American people.

“Fifty years ago a most distinguished foreigner, who visited this country and studied its condition and prospects, wrote :

““When I contemplate the ardor with which the Americans prosecute commerce, the advantages which aid them, and the success of their undertakings, I cannot help believing that they will one day become the first maritime power of the globe. They are bound to rule the seas as the Romans were to conquer the world.
. . . . The Americans themselves now transport to

their own shores nine-tenths of the European produce which they consume, and they also bring three-fourths of the exports of the New World to the European consumers. The ships of the United States fill the docks of Havre and of Liverpool; while the number of English and French vessels which are to be seen at New York is comparatively small.'

"We turn to the actual results reached since these words were written with disappointment.

"In 1840 American vessels carried $82\frac{2}{10}$ per cent. of all our exports and imports; in 1850, $72\frac{5}{10}$; in 1860, $66\frac{5}{10}$; in 1870, $35\frac{6}{10}$; in 1880, $17\frac{4}{10}$; in 1882, $15\frac{5}{10}$.

"The citizen of New York, looking beyond his State and all her efforts in the interest of commerce and national growth, will naturally inquire concerning the causes of this decadence of American shipping.

"While he sternly demands of his home government the exact limitation of taxation by the needs of the State, he will challenge the policy that accumulates millions of useless and unnecessary surplus in the national treasury, which has been not less a tax because it was indirectly but surely added to the cost of the people's life.

"Let us anticipate a time when care for the people's needs as they actually arise, and the application of remedies, as wrongs appear, shall lead in the conduct of national affairs; and let us undertake the business of legislation with the full determination that these principles shall guide us, in the performance of our duties as guardians of the interests of the State."

Governor Cleveland's assistance in reforming the administration of the government of New York City was the first practical effort brought before the Legislature to satisfactorily amend certain defects which had

come deep-rooted evils. The Mayor's bill had excited much interest in the discussion of its merits, and was to the effect that all appointments to office in the city of New York made by the Mayor and confirmed by the Board of Aldermen, should hereafter be made by the Mayor without such confirmation. The bill was signed by Governor Cleveland, and, with his usual explicit and well-determined views, he stated his reasons in a message dated March 17, 1884, which I will publish here in full, as it involves a number of questions of general interest :

"The interest which has been aroused regarding the merits of this bill, and quite a determined hostility which has been developed on the part of those entitled to respectful consideration, appear to justify a brief reference to the principles and purposes which seem to me to be involved in the measure, and an incidental statement of the process of thought by which I have been led to approve the same.

"The opponents of the bill have invoked the inviolability of the rights of the people to rule themselves, and have insisted upon the preservation of a wise distribution of power among the different branches of government ; and I have listened to solemn warnings against the subversive tendency of the concentration of power in municipal rule, and the destructive consequences of any encroachment upon the people's rights and prerogatives.

"I hope I have not entirely misconceived the scope and reach of this bill ; but it seems to me that my determination as to whether or not it should become a law does not depend upon the reverence I entertain for such fundamental principles.

"The question is not whether certain officers heretofore elected by the people of the city of New York shall, under the provisions of a new law, be appointed. The transfer of power from an election by the people to an appointment by other authority, has already been made.

"The present charter of the city provides that the mayor 'shall nominate, and by and with the consent of the board of aldermen appoint the heads of departments.'

"The bill under consideration provides that after the 1st day of January, 1885, 'all appointments to office in the city of New York now

made by the mayor and confirmed by the board of aldermen shall be made by the mayor without such confirmation.'

"The change proposed is clearly apparent.

"By the present charter the mayor, elected by all the people of the city, if a majority of twenty-four aldermen elected by the voters of twenty-four separate districts concur with him, may appoint the administrative officers who shall have charge and management of the city departments.

"The bill presented for my action allows the mayor alone to appoint these officers. This authority is not conferred upon the mayor now in office, who was chosen without anticipation on the part of the people who elected him, that he should exercise this power, but upon the incoming mayor who, after the passage of the act, shall be elected, with the full knowledge on the part of the people, at the time they cast their votes, that they are constituting an agent to act for them in the selection of certain other city officers.

"This selection under either statute is delegated by the people. In the one case it is exercised by the chief executive acting with twenty-four officers representing as many different sections of the municipality; in the other by the chief executive alone.

"I cannot see that any principle of democratic rule is more violated in the one case than in the other. It appears to be a mere change of instrumentalities.

"It will hardly do to say that because the aldermen are elected annually, and the mayor every two years, that the former are nearer the people and more especially their representatives. The difference in their terms is not sufficient to make a distinction in their direct relations to the citizen.

"Nor are the rights of the people to self-government in theory and principle better protected when the power of appointment is vested in twenty-five men, twenty-four of whom are responsible only to their constituents in their respective districts, than when this power is put in the hands of one man elected by all the people of the municipality with particular reference to the exercise of such power. Indeed, in the present condition of affairs, if disagreement arises between the mayor and the aldermen, the selection of officers by the representative of all the people might be defeated by the adverse action of thirteen representatives of thirteen aldermanic districts. And it is perfectly apparent that these thirteen might, and often would, represent a decided minority of the people of the municipality.

"It cannot be claimed that an arrangement which permits such a result is pre-eminently democratic.

"It has been urged that the proposed change is opposed to the principle of home rule. If it is intended to claim that the officers, the creation of which is provided for, should be elected, it has no relevancy; for that question is not in any manner presented for my determination. And it surely cannot be said that the doctrine of home rule prevents any change by the Legislature of the organic law of municipalities. The people of the city cannot themselves make such change; and if legislative aid cannot be invoked to that end, it follows that abuses, flagrant and increasing, must be continued, and existing charter provisions, the inadequacy of which for the protection and prosperity of the people is freely admitted, must be perpetuated. It is the interference of the Legislature with the administration of municipal government, by agencies arbitrarily created by legislative enactment, and the assumption by the law-making power of the State, of the rights to regulate such details of city government as are or should be under the supervision of local authorities, that should be condemned as a violation of the doctrine of home rule.

"In any event I am convinced that I should not disapprove the bill before me on the ground that it violates any principle which is now recognized and exemplified in the government of the city of New York.

"I am also satisfied that as between the system now prevailing and that proposed, expediency and a close regard to improved municipal administration lead to my approval of the measure.

"If the chief executive of the city is to be held responsible for its order and good government, he should not be hampered by any interference with his selection of subordinate administrative officers; nor should he be permitted to find in a divided responsibility an excuse for any neglect of the best interests of the people.

"The plea should never be heard that a bad nomination had been made because it was the only one that could secure confirmation.

"No instance has been cited in which a bad appointment has been prevented by the refusal of the board of aldermen of the city of New York to confirm a nomination.

"An absolute and undivided responsibility on the part of the appointing power accords with correct business principles, the application of which to public affairs will always, I believe, direct the way to good administration and the protection of the people's interests.

"The intelligence and watchfulness of the citizens of New York,

should certainly furnish a safe guaranty that the duties and powers devolved by this legislation upon their chosen representative, will be well and wisely bestowed ; and if they err or are betrayed, their remedy is close at hand.

"I can hardly realize the unprincipled boldness of the man who would accept at the hands of his neighbors this sacred trust, and standing alone in the full light of public observation, should wilfully prostitute his powers and defy the will of the people.

"To say that such a man could by such means perpetuate his wicked rule, concedes either that the people are vile or that self-government is a deplorable failure.

"It is claimed that because some of these appointees become members of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment, which determines very largely the amount of taxation, therefore the power to select them should not be given to the mayor. If the question presented was whether officials having such important duties and functions should be elected by the people or appointed, such a consideration might well be urged in favor of their election. But they are now appointed, and they will remain appointive, whether the proposed bill should be rejected or approved. This being the situation, the importance of the duties to be performed by these officials has to do with the care to be exercised in their selection, rather than the choice between the two modes of appointment which are under consideration."

"For some time prior to the year 1872, these appointments were made by the mayor without confirmation, as is contemplated by the bill now before me. In that year a measure passed the Legislature giving the power of appointment to the common council. The chief executive of the State at that time was a careful and thorough student of municipal affairs, having large and varied experience in public life. He refused to approve the bill, on the ground that it was a departure from the principle which should be applied to the administration of the affairs of the city, and for the reason that the mayor should be permitted to appoint the subordinate administrative officers without the interference of any other authority.

"This reference to the treatment of the subject by one of my distinguished predecessors in office, affords me the opportunity to quote from his able and vigorous veto message which he sent to the Legislature on that occasion. He said :

" 'Nowhere on this continent is it so essentially a condition of good government as in the city of New York, that the chief executive officer

should be clothed with ample powers, have full control over subordinate administrative departments, and so be subject to an undivided responsibility to the people and to public opinion for all errors, shortcomings and wrong-doings by subordinate officers.'

"He also said :

" 'Give to the city a chief executive, with full power to appoint all heads of administrative departments. Let him have power to remove his subordinates, being required to publicly assign his reason.'

"He further declared :

" 'The members of the common council, in New York, will exert all the influence over appointments which is consistent with the public good, without having the legal power of appointment, *or any part of it*, vested in their hands.'

"In 1876, after four added years of reflection and observation, he said, in a public address, when suggesting a scheme of municipal government :

" 'Have, therefore, no provision in your charter requiring the consent of the common council to the mayor's appointment of heads of departments; *that only opens the way for dictation by the council or for bargains*. This is not the way to get good men nor to fix the full responsibility for maladministration upon the people's chosen prime minister.'

"These are the utterances of one who, during two terms had been mayor of the city of New York, and for two terms recorder of that city ; and who for four years had been Governor of the State.

"No testimony, it seems to me, could be more satisfactory and convincing.

"It is objected that this bill does not go far enough, and that there should be a rearrangement of the terms of these officers ; also that some of them should be made elective. This is undoubtedly true ; and I shall be glad to approve further judicious legislation supplementary to this, which shall make the change more valuable and surround it with safeguards in the interests of the citizens. But such further legislation should be well digested and conservative, and, above all, not proposed for the purpose of gaining a mere partisan advantage.

"I have not referred to the pernicious practices which the present mode of making appointments in the city of New York engenders, nor in the constantly recurring bad results for which it is responsible. They are in the plain sight of every citizen of the State.

"I believe the change made by the provisions of this bill gives oppor-

tunity for an improvement in the administration of municipal affairs ; and I am satisfied that the measure violates no right of the people of the locality affected, which they now enjoy. But the best opportunities will be lost and the most perfect plan of city government will fail, unless the people recognize their responsibilities and appreciate and realize the privileges and duties of citizenship. With the most carefully devised charter, and with all the protection which legislative enactments can afford them, the people of the city of New York will not secure a wise and economical rule until those having the most at stake determine to actively interest themselves in the conduct of municipal affairs.

Another bill promptly signed by Governor Cleveland was the County Clerk's bill, fixing the salary at \$15,000 a year and providing that all fees collected shall be accounted for and paid into the treasury.

The Sheriff's bill brought about much dispute. It was in effect, that the Board of Aldermen should cease to have any power in regard to establishing the sheriff's compensation, and also that :

"The Sheriff of the city and county of New York shall present to the Board of Estimates and Apportionment of said city an estimate in writing of the amounts which he deems necessary for defraying during the ensuing year those objects of expenditure connected with his said office, which are by law made a charge upon said city and county. The yearly estimate so presented by the said sheriff shall specify the aggregate of per capita amounts which he deems necessary to compensate him for filing returns of criminal convictions according to law with the Secretary of State ; for conveying prisoners from the city prisons to the penitentiary, to the house of refuge, and to the courts of oyer and terminer and general sessions and back to prison from said courts ; for the support of prisoners confined in the county jail, whether criminal or civil prisoners ; for summoning jurors according to law ; for the attendance of himself and his deputies at the execution of criminals, and all other expenses connected therewith, and prior to execution ; and the said estimate shall specify in detail all other objects of expenditure connected with said office chargeable as aforesaid to said city and county, with the amounts which the said sheriff deems necessary for defraying the same.

"The said Board of Estimate and Apportionment shall, in making their

provisional and final estimates of the amounts requisite to meet the expenses of conducting the public business of the city and county of New York, consider the yearly estimate presented by said sheriff, and shall provide for the various objects of expenditure in said yearly estimate specified, such sums or fix such rates of payment therefor as in the judgment of the said Board of Estimate and Apportionment may seem necessary and sufficient. No expense chargeable to said city and county shall be incurred by said sheriff in excess of the amounts appropriated or rates fixed therefor by said board."

The Surrogate's bill provided that the office and its appointments should be removed from the control of the Board of Aldermen, regulating the fees of the office, etc.

X.

THE FIVE-CENT FARE BILL.

GOVERNOR CLEVELAND'S official acts have been widely discussed, and his veto of the "Five-cent Fare Bill" has excited much attention. But that his decision was based upon complete justice and legal reasons cannot be denied if one will give careful attention to the facts in the case.

Under their charter the Elevated Railroads of New York City charged an uniform rate of five cents fare during portions of the morning and evening hours—the hours when the working man went to and from his home. From half-past eight in the morning until half-past four in the afternoon, the rate of fare was fixed at ten cents. As the mass of employees begin work at seven o'clock in the morning and leave off their work certainly between the hours of half-past four and half-past seven in the evening, it will be readily seen that they could not have many reasons to complain of the ten-cent hours. But three years ago the subject of reducing the fare to five cents for all time was presented in the Legislature. It was urged in the name of the working men, but no amount of persuasion could convince the Assembly that the working men had anything to do with the bill. The opponents of the bill were in no way charged with being "bought up" by the Elevated Companies,

but could not honestly find a demand for the passage, nor could they see how the roads could be sustained at the reduced rate of fare according to the charter. In 1883 the bill was again brought prominently forward by a Tammany man. The condition of the Legislature and the reception of the bill are thus described by an Albany correspondent :

“Both branches of the Legislature were in the hands of the Democrats, who were for all purposes of legislation harmonious. The anti-monopoly and the labor questions had entered largely into the preceding election. At the opening of the Legislature that kind of agitation centred round the prison contract labor system and the call for a railroad commission. The law of the previous session made it incumbent on the Governor to appoint as one of the commissioners some man to be selected by the anti-monopoly organizations of New York, which thing he did. The momentum of the anti-monopoly and labor agitation carried the elevated railroad fare bill along, almost as a matter of course. Both parties are bidding for popularity with laboring men and anti-monopolists. The fare bill was looked upon so much as a matter of course that no individual in either branch sought to make special capital out of it. It was introduced in both branches immediately after the organizations were perfected. The committees reported favorably. In the Assembly, when the point of final action was reached, a motion to recommit for the purpose of giving the elevated roads a further hearing was negatived, 70 to 48, only four New York City members voting in the affirmative. A motion to change the bill from an arbitrary reduction of fare to giving the local authorities power over the subject, was negatived, 114 to 1. It then passed by a vote of 109 to 6, and of the six only one was a New York City man. In the Senate, the Assembly bill was substituted for the Senate bill, and it passed that house by a vote of 24 to 5, not one of the five being a New York City Senator. So the bill went to Governor Cleveland with the strongest kind of backing from the Legislature. While not quite unanimous, the vote measured the then popularity of anti-monopoly in pro-labor measures. Birds had even then already whispered to the Governor that possibly he would at some time be a candidate for the Presidency. If he signed the bill, he would receive the plaudits of the laboring people. If he vetoed it, he would please only a grinding monopoly.”

But Governor Cleveland did veto the bill, and he vetoed it on the ground that it involved a breach of faith on the part of the State. In 1850 a general railroad law was passed, declaring for nearly a quarter of a century that the policy of the State had promised that the Legislature could not reduce the rates of any railroad until its reduced rates should produce a profit of ten per centum on the capital actually expended. An examination by the Railroad Commission, consisting of one Democrat (Kernan), one Republican (Rogers), and one anti monopolist (O'Donnell), showed that the earnings of the roads were not such as to justify the proposed reduction of fare. Commissioner O'Donnell figured that the system of Elevated Railroads earned during the preceding year 10.68 per cent. net on the capital actually expended, while Commissioners Kernan and Rogers made it out 7.01 per cent. Both reports cast out \$13,000,000 of Manhattan stock.

The Governor gave as another reason for his veto, that in express provisions of special act, it was provided that the company should under bonds pledge itself to pay a certain percentage into the city treasury, to constitute an agreement in the nature of a contract between the city and constructing company, entitling the company to the legalized rate of fare, which should not be changed without the mutual consent of the parties. Payments having been made, the Governor considered that there had been constituted an agreement and the State could make no abrogation. In addition to all this another contract in writing had been made between the rapid transit commissioners and the railroad companies, to the same effect, before the roads were built, to induce their construction. This was a third promise which the passage of the bill would break.

Governor Cleveland firmly established in his own mind the belief that the people of New York or its representatives, would not repudiate these obligations if thoroughly understood, and stated the reasons at great length in his message disapproving the bill. He was simply bound by the oath of his office to do exactly as he did. The result of his action brought expressions of commendation from all parts of the country. His honor and sincerity cannot be impugned.

President White, of Cornell University, thus wrote :

“ITHACA, N. Y., April 20, 1883.

“Returning to Ithaca after an absence of ten days, I find your kind letter and inclosure. I will say to you frankly that I am coming to have a very great respect and admiration for our new Governor. His course on the Elevated Railroad bill first commended him to me. Personally, I should have been glad to have seen that company receive a slap. But the method of administering it seemed to me very insidious and even dangerous, and glad was I to see that the Governor rose above all the noise and clap-trap which was raised about the question, went to the fundamental point of the matter, and vetoed the bill. I think his course at that time gained the respect of every thinking man in the State. As to his veto of the Buffalo Fire Department bill, that, I think, begins to lift him into national prominence, and when you add such a significant sign as his reported dealing with the Palmyra statesman, he really begins to ‘loom up.’ It is refreshing to find that a spark of the old Jeffersonian statesmanship is really alive among us. Party allegiance in this State and elsewhere among thinking men is, I think, growing decidedly loose. Great numbers of men are quietly on the lookout for men who can grapple, not with the old abolition question or the civil war question, but with the question of a real reform in our civil service—the question of the present and future. No man and no party can be built up or kept up on clap-trap, but on real determination and power to move in this new line parties and men can alone be brought to supremacy.

“Thus far every party which has arrived at power, and kept it for any length of time, has represented some real principle, something which commended itself, if not to a majority, at least to an aggressive body of

voters, even though that body be small. The present time is no exception to this rule.

"Congratulating you on the record of the Governor thus far, and, in common with vast numbers of our fellow-citizens, longing that he may be the man we have all been looking for, I remain, very truly yours.

"AND. D. WHITE.

"Henry A. Richmond, Esq., Buffalo, N. Y.

"P. S.—I ought to have included in the Governor's titles to respect, his recent appointment to the Capitol Commission, which, from all accounts, is exceedingly honorable to him, not only as regards the man he did appoint, but the man he did not appoint, and, also, since writing the above, his appointment to the Insurance Department.

"A. D. W."

Letters were received in commendation of the veto, from men of both parties. The Rev. Dr. M. B. Anderson, of Rochester University, wrote plainly as follows :

"ROCHESTER, March 4, 1883.

"GOVERNOR CLEVELAND :

"SIR :—I cannot, in justice to my convictions, refrain from expressing my gratitude for your veto message, which I have just read. I have no personal interest in any of the great corporations which were directly or indirectly affected by the bill from which you have so wisely withheld your approval. But the just and statesmanlike position taken in your message seems to me a most fitting rebuke to the demagogism which is ready to trifle with those sacred rights of property guaranteed by our State and National Constitutions. In these safeguards of property the poor man has a more vital interest than the capitalist, for they make secure the poor man's savings, which constitute his only means of support. I have taken occasion to commend your message to the careful consideration of my students as an exhibition of the principles which should govern their actions should they be called to fill public station in their future lives. I trust you will pardon me for obtruding myself upon your attention. As a teacher of young men, I feel grateful to any public functionary who illustrates in his person the lessons which I am so anxious to impress upon their minds. Again I thank you for the courageous and worthy action which you have adopted to secure sound government for our great State.

"Yours very respectfully,

"MARTIN B. ANDERSON."

The Mayor of New York City thus expressed his opinion in the matter :

“MAYOR’S OFFICE, NEW YORK, February 23, 1883.

“DEAR SIR :—In a conversation held last evening with the Hon. Erastus Brooks, of the Assembly, he suggested that, holding the views I do relative to the elevated railroads of this city, I should address a communication to the Governor briefly stating them.

“It seems to me that the demand by some of our citizens for the compulsory decrease of fares on the elevated roads is neither judicious on their part nor just toward the companies owning and operating the roads. It cannot yet be said that the durability of the structure of the elevated roads has been sufficiently tested to warrant such legislation as will to any extent relieve those who operate them from responsibility as to their safety, and I believe safety can only be assured by constant vigilance and the constant employment of a large number of men who are, to a large extent, experts in the construction and repair of such structures. To compel by legislation the rigid economy in the operation of these roads, which may be practised in the operation of long-established surface roads, might bring disaster such as the most strenuous advocate of the measure would hardly be willing to contemplate. The citizens of New York who daily use these roads cannot, in my opinion, afford, in this view of the matter, to favor the measure in question.

“Whatever may have been done by the original promoters of these roads in the way of manipulating their securities should not, in my opinion, enter into the consideration of the matter as it is presented in this bill. It is unreasonable, I think, to suppose that any road can be constructed, over which passengers can be carried at any profit, from the Battery to Harlem River, for five cents at all hours of the day and night as they are now carried by the elevated roads.

“To say nothing, then, of the bad faith toward these chartered companies which this bill would confirm, to interfere through such legislation in a matter so vital to the safety of so large a proportion of this community is, as I view it, a startling thing to do.

“Very truly yours,

“FRANKLIN EDSON,

“Mayor.

“His Excellency, GROVER CLEVELAND,

“Governor of the State of New York.”

There is hardly a need to occupy so much space in this volume, it seems to me, concerning the causes that led to and the final dismissal of the "Five-cent Fare Bill." The public press has discussed it fully in all its bearings, and any misuse of the measure as a campaign document to excite the laboring classes against Governor Cleveland's action is a miserable deceit. His views on the subject, so clearly expressed in his message, are worth chronicling here as an exhibition of the man's sense of justice :

"The fact is notorious that for many years rapid transit was the great need of the inhabitants of the city of New York, and was of direct importance to the citizens of the State. Projects which promised to answer the people's wants in this direction failed and were abandoned. The Legislature, appreciating the situation, willingly passed statute after statute calculated to aid and encourage a solution of the problem. Capital was timid, and hesitated to enter a new field full of risks and dangers. By the promise of liberal fares, as will be seen in all the acts passed on the subject, and through other concessions gladly made, capitalists were induced to invest their money in the enterprise, and rapid transit but lately became an accomplished fact. But much of the risk, expense, and burden attending the maintenance of these roads are yet unknown and threatening. In the meantime, the people of the city of New York are receiving the full benefit of their construction, a great enhancement of the value of the taxable property of the city has resulted, and in addition to taxes, more than \$120,000, being five per cent. in increase, pursuant to the law of 1868, has been paid by the companies into the city treasury on the faith that the rate of fare agreed upon was secured to them. I am not aware that the

corporations have, by any default, forfeited any of their rights ; and if they have, the remedy is at hand under existing laws. Their stock and their bonds are held by a large number of citizens, and the income of these roads depends entirely upon fares received for passengers. The reduction proposed is a large one, and it is claimed will permit no dividends to investors. This may not be true, but we should be satisfied it is not, before the proposed law takes effect.

"It is manifestly important that invested capital should be protected, and that its necessity and usefulness in the development of enterprises valuable to the people should be recognized by conservative conduct on the part of the State government.

"But we have especially in our keeping the honor and good faith of a great State, and we should see to it that no suspicion attaches, through any act of ours, to the fair fame of the commonwealth. The State should not only be strictly just, but scrupulously fair, and in its relations to the citizen every legal and moral obligation should be recognized. This can only be done by legislating without vindictiveness or prejudice, and with a firm determination to deal justly and fairly with those from whom we exact obedience.

"I am not unmindful of the fact that this bill originated in response to the demand of a large portion of the people of New York for cheaper rates of fare between their places of employment and their homes, and I realize fully the desirability of securing to them all the privileges possible ; but the experience of other States teaches that we must keep within the limits of law and good faith, lest in the end we bring upon the very people whom we seek to benefit and protect a hardship which must surely follow when these limits are ignored."

XI.

THE TENURE OF OFFICE BILL.

AMONG the bills returned by Governor Cleveland without his approval, was "the Tenure of Office Bill," which was intended to regulate the terms of office of certain public officers in New York City. As originally drawn, the author, Francis M. Scott, endeavored to make it consistent with the charter of the city. The facts of the motive were these : the terms of office of the present Corporation Counsel and Commissioners of Public Works expires in December, 1884, and their successors, to be appointed by the Mayor with consent of the Aldermen, will, by provision of the Consolidation act, hold office until four years from the following May. It was deemed unfortunate that the first Mayor to be elected under the new municipal system should find all the important offices already filled for a term extending beyond his own, and the object of the bill was, providing all commissioners and other officers who should be appointed by the present mayor, either for a full term or to fill a vacancy, should hold office until the first day of February, 1885, and until their successors should be appointed ; and that such successors should hold office for the terms for which their predecessors would have held but for this act. The bill was, in effect, simply changing the time of appointment of officials who were to

hold until May, 1889, from December, 1884, to February, 1885; while for the appointment of their successors in 1889 the consolidation act makes ample provision. The bill had passed the Senate and came up for a third reading in the Assembly; then an amendment providing that the terms of such officials as might be appointed under the bill, should be limited to the term of office of the mayor, was offered by Isaac Dayton. This amendment passed the Senate, and when presented to Governor Cleveland was inconsistent and entirely at variance with Mr. Scott's objects.

Governor Cleveland's veto was to have been expected. He had given express warning, and he wrote his disapproval in the following words:

"It will be seen at a glance that this bill does not purport to 'fix and regulate' the terms of all appointive offices, but only such as shall be appointed during the remainder of the term of the present mayor *and their immediate successors*. And it will be observed that the next mayor can only appoint successors to such officers as shall be appointed by the present mayor *during the remainder of his term*. I think the evident intention of the bill would be entirely defeated if the mayor now in office should allow the present incumbents to hold over till the expiration of their terms instead of appointing others in their places.

"When the bill attempts to fix the terms of the appointees of the next mayor it would seem to provide in the same sentence for two limitations to such terms—that is, four years from the 1st day of May, 1885, as provided by the present law, and one year and eleven months from February 1, 1885.

"I observe, too, that the last limitation only applies to 'commissioners and heads of departments,' the word

'officers' having been omitted, though it is embraced in the other limitation.

"Of all the defective and shabby legislation which has been presented to me, this is the worst and most inexcusable, unless it be its companion, which is entitled 'An act to provide for a more efficient government of the department of parks in the city of New York.'

"This bill provides that the term of office of the present commissioners of the department of public parks, in the city of New York, and any of their successors who may be appointed by the present mayor, shall cease on the 1st day of February, 1885, and that in their place the mayor shall appoint, within ten days thereafter, three commissioners, one of whom shall serve for two years, one for four years, and one for six years; and that 'biennially thereafter the mayor shall appoint *one* commissioner of the department of public parks, who shall hold his office for two, four, or six years, as the term of the office becoming vacant shall require, or until removed.'

"I confess I am utterly unable, after considerable study, to determine when the terms of any appointees after the first would terminate, or how the department could be long continued with three members, under the provisions of this bill.

"In 1887 the shortest term of these officers would expire and a commissioner should be appointed. What length of time for the new commissioner does the office becoming vacant 'require?' I think the language of the bill can be most reasonably answered by making another appointment for two years. If this was done the new appointees' term would expire in 1889. But at this time the four years' term of an original appointee would also expire, making two offices to be then filled, while the

mayor, by the bill, is limited to the appointment of one commissioner in that year.

"If it was intended to create a commission of three members, it is entirely evident that the term of all appointees, after the first, should have been for six years.

"Appreciating the litigation and the sacrifice of rights and interests which result from defective laws, I have earnestly tried, during my official term, to enforce care in their preparation. I am importuned every day to allow laws to go upon the statute book which are mischievously imperfect, but which are deemed good enough to promote the purposes of interested parties. It is not pleasant constantly to refuse such applications, but I conceive it my duty to do so.

"Though the purposes of these bills are supposed to be in the public interest, and though their failure may be a disappointment to many, I do not see that I should allow them to breed dispute and litigation touching important public offices, and to be made troublesome precedents to encourage careless and vicious legislation."

As soon as Governor Cleveland's veto was made known, the draughtsman and author of the bill, Mr. Scott, wrote as follows to the *New York Times* :

"As the draughtsman of the original Tenure of Office act, and one of its most ardent supporters, I am constrained to agree with Governor Cleveland, that in the shape in which it reached him it was a very shabby piece of legislation, quite unfit to find a place in the statute-book.

"As to the Park Commissioners' bill, it, too, was hastily and inconsiderately amended in the course of its passage through the Legislature, and was, thereby, quite as effectually spoiled as was the Tenure of Office act."

The *Times*, in commenting on this letter, made the following remark :

"A correspondent favors us with an explanation of an interpolation in the so-called Tenure of Office bill which had escaped our attention, and which entirely justifies Governor Cleveland's refusal to sign it. The amendment, which provided that the terms of office of the persons to be appointed under the bill to succeed those appointed by the present Mayor should be limited by the term of the Mayor appointing them, confused its provisions and made them inconsistent with themselves and with existing law. The purpose of the amendment was evidently hostile, but it escaped the attention of the friends of the measure."

Assemblyman Dayton, ignoring the objections raised by Governor Cleveland, wrote the following rejoinder to the veto :

"TO THE EDITOR OF THE EVENING POST :

"SIR : Permit me to ask, do you think the Mayor of this city, elected in November, 1884, and taking office on the first of January, 1885, should have the power to appoint a Commissioner of Public Works and a Corporation Counsel, to hold office for four years, that is, throughout the whole term of office of the Mayor who shall be elected in November, 1886? The principle of the act, giving the Mayor the absolute power of appointment of all officers he should be authorized to appoint, is that the people may hold the Mayor responsible for the conduct of public affairs so far as the administration of public affairs rests with the Mayor. The Mayor elected in 1886 and taking office January 1, 1887, could not justly be held responsible for the acts of a Commissioner of Public Works and Corporation Counsel holding office during his whole term appointed by his predecessor. The responsibility of the Mayor who appointed them for their acts after he had gone out of office would not be of any value. Let me in conclusion ask the further question, do you think that the amendment which met and remedied this difficulty to the Tenure of Office bill, made the bill so objectionable that the bill ought not to have been passed? If you do think so, there was not, at the time the Tenure of Office bill passed the Legislature, any one else who thought so ; at any rate, there was not any one in the Legislature who thought so, and I do not believe there is any one else who thinks so now."

A charge was made against Governor Cleveland to the effect that he vetoed the Tenure of Office bill for

the purpose of keeping Hubert O. Thompson in office. The facts in the case, as I have here published them, show how flimsy is the imputation, and the character of Governor Cleveland, as it must by this time be understood by the reader, will in itself refute the charge.

Further controversy in regard to Governor Cleveland's decisions brought out the following letter in the New York *Evening Post*, July 30th, from Mr. Scott :

"In his letter published in the *Evening Post* of yesterday Mr. George Bliss argues that the Governor's objections to the Tenure of Office Bill were untenable, and that even if they were sound, they applied with as much force to the bill in its original as in its amended form.

"It is no part of my purpose to defend the wording of the original bill, and I shall confine myself to a consideration of it in the shape in which it reached the Executive Chamber.

"The specific objections which the Governor found to the bill were :

"*First.* That it made no provision for the appointment of any officer or head of department after the immediate successors to those now in office.

"*Second.* That the evident intention of the bill would be entirely defeated if the Mayor now in office should allow the present incumbents to hold over.

"*Third.* That the bill provided in the same sentence two limitations to the terms of the appointees of the next Mayor.

"Colonel Bliss is quite right in saying that I had section 106 of the Consolidation Act in mind when I drafted the Tenure of Office Act, and that an acquaintance with the provisions of that section is necessary to a thorough comprehension of the Governor's first and principal objection to the bill. That section provides that 'every head of department and person in this section named, except as in this act otherwise provided, shall hold his office *for the term of six years*, and in each case until a person is duly appointed and has qualified in his place ; *but any person appointed after the commencement of the term as herein prescribed, shall hold only until the expiration of such term, and until a successor is duly appointed and qualified.* The terms of office of all such heads of departments and persons, *whenever actually appointed, shall commence on the first day of May in the year in which the terms*

of office of their predecessors expire ; but the Comptroller, Corporation Counsel, and Commissioner of Public Works to be appointed on the expiration of the terms of office of the present incumbents in December, 1884, shall hold their offices until four years from the first day of May succeeding such month.'

"As I pointed out in my letter published in the *Times* on June 18th, the practical effect of the original bill was simply to postpone the appointment of the next Commissioner of Public Works and Corporation Counsel from December to February, leaving their terms of office and the appointment of their successors to be regulated by the above quoted section of the Consolidation Act.

"The Dayton amendment went further and undertook to regulate the terms of office of the appointees of the next Mayor, and there stopped. When would their successors take office? Apparently in May, 1887, for the Consolidation Act says that the terms of office of heads of department and persons, *whensoever actually appointed*, shall commence on the *first day of May*, in the year in which the terms of office of their predecessors expire. But the Dayton amendment provides that no commissioner or head of department appointed under that act should hold office *for any longer term or period* than the term of office of the Mayor who appointed him and thirty days thereafter, and the usual saving clause extending the incumbency of the offices until the appointment and qualification of successors is conspicuous by its absence. The term of office of the next Mayor of this city will expire on January 1, 1887, and if the Tenure of Office Act had become a law his appointees under it could have held office no longer than February 1, 1887, while by the terms of the Consolidation Act their successors, '*whensoever actually appointed*,' could not have become invested with office until the first day of the following May, leaving the city wholly unprovided with a Corporation Counsel or Commissioner of Public Works for three months. And when appointed and invested with office, for how long would the successors of the appointees of the next Mayor have held under the Dayton amendment, taken in connection with section 106 of the Consolidation Act? Not for four years apparently, for that term is limited to the terms of the officials who are to be appointed in December, 1884. They might hold for six years, or they might be deemed to have been appointed '*after the commencement of a term as prescribed*' in the Consolidation Act, the term prescribed in that act running from December, 1884, to May, 1889, in which case they would hold '*until the expiration of such term.*' Much less am-

biguity has often led in the past to expensive and protracted litigation, in which the city has been called upon to foot the bills on both sides.

"The Governor's second objection was that the present Mayor by neglecting to make appointments could defeat the 'evident intention' of the bill.

"By the 'evident intention' of the bill is clearly meant the intention to make the terms of office of the appointees of the next Mayor coterminus with his own.

"The Dayton *proviso* affected the terms of office only of those 'appointed under this act,' and the act provided only for the appointment of successors to the appointees of the present Mayor.

"If the present Mayor had made no appointments, no successors to *his* appointees could have been appointed, and the whole act, *including the Dayton amendment*, would never have gone into practical effect. In such an event the next Mayor on coming into office would have found a Corporation Counsel and a Commissioner of Public Works holding over, and would have appointed their successors, not by virtue of the Tenure of Office Act, but by virtue of section 106 of the Consolidation Act, and these appointees would have held, not until February 1, 1887, but until May 1, 1889, thus palpably defeating the 'evident intention' of the Tenure of Office Bill as amended by the astute Mr. Dayton.

"The validity of the Governor's third objection to the bill is apparent upon its face. Its second section provides in a single sentence that the appointees of the next Mayor shall hold office for two different terms, one extending to May 1, 1889, the other expiring on February 1, 1887. I think that every candid reader must be prepared to admit that the bill as it reached the Governor was in truth 'defective and shabby legislation,' which, until amended, was not even intelligible, and I confess my surprise that one who has had so much experience in Albany as has Colonel Bliss, should deem it wise or even excusable in a careful Governor to sign a defective bill in the hope and trust that it may be amended in some way before its defects produce serious results.

"As Colonel Bliss has dragged Commissioner Thompson's name into his letter, I may be permitted to make one remark as to the political effect of this much-discussed veto. The effort is being made to convince the public that the veto of the Tenure of Office Bill was intended and calculated in some way to strengthen Governor Cleveland's political friends. Its effect is exactly the reverse. The Governor has not to-day, and had not when the bill was vetoed, any more virulent, persistent, and aggressive foes than the leaders of Tammany Hall, and yet the

Mayor who is to appoint and the Aldermen who are to confirm the successors to our present Commissioner of Public Works and Corporation Counsel are absolutely controlled by this same Tammany Hall. Had the Governor been actuated by any but pure and honest motives, he would either have stricken his enemies by signing the bill or would have utilized his veto by compelling their support at the State and National conventions. That he did neither is proof sufficient that the reasons he gave for the veto were the real ones that influenced his action.

"So far as Mr. Dayton's course in regard to the bill is concerned, I have never believed for an instant that he foresaw the Governor's veto. What he unquestionably desired was to kill the bill. The session was drawing to a close; many private bills were awaiting their third reading; this bill had already passed the Senate by but a bare majority, and the friends of the *original* measure could count upon just enough votes to pass it in the Assembly on a fair fight; the situation was desperate, and the only chance to defeat the bill was to send it back to the Senate with an amendment in the hope that it would either be 'hung up' in a conference committee or defeated when put upon its final passage as amended. Some one suggested the very plausible amendment that was offered by Mr. Dayton, and it gained favor so rapidly that Mr. Roosevelt, to save the bill, accepted the amendment. The bill as amended was sent to the Senate before any one had time to consider its language or effect, and the amendment was concurred in before the opponents of the bill had a chance to pass the word to have the measure delayed. The scheme to defeat the bill failed, but Mr. Dayton had 'built better than he knew,' and the Tenure of Office Act had been hopelessly and fatally muddled and ruined."

XII.

BILLS APPROVED.

THE course of Governor Cleveland in reference to strict legislation, his indefatigable labor in the scrutiny of all bills, has been a notable fact.

A number of excellent acts were made in 1883. One was the act to prevent "baby farming."

Although powerful influence was brought to bear against it, in compliance with the demands of the people he signed a bill providing that the fare on the Utica & Black River Railroad should not exceed three cents per mile.

Another act was the bill providing that it should be the duty of the Board of Supervisors to designate some proper authority, other than designated by law, for the care of paupers and the custody of criminals, and to inter the body of an honorably discharged soldier or sailor of the late Rebellion, who should die without means to defray funeral expenses.

An act concerning pawnbrokers, and regulating the rate of interest charged on loans.

The bill to provide for submitting to the electors of the State the proposition to abolish contract labor from State prisons.

Other acts in regard to insurance associations; the emigration commission bill; the establishment of a bu-

reau of labor statistics ; in regard to receivers of corporations, and political assessments, are referred to elsewhere.

A number of bills of general importance were signed in 1884, as follows :

An act providing that no contracts for convict labor in prisons, penitentiaries, or reformatories should be renewed, pending contracts extended, or new ones made.

The bill providing for a more efficient examination of the affairs of banks, banking and trust companies by the superintendent of banks.

The bill permitting the use of State armories by associations of discharged soldiers.

The bill to prevent deception in sales of dairy products, more popularly known as the oleomargarine bill, a measure most earnestly desired by the vast dairy interests of the State.

The bill entitled "An act in relation to public education in the city of New York," which in fact wiped out the color and race line.

The act to provide for the completion of the records of New York volunteers of the War of the Rebellion, on file in the office of the Adjutant-General of the State of New York, and for safe-keeping thereof.

The bill amending chapter 339, Laws 1883, concerning pawnbrokers, widening its application to prohibit the sale of furniture stored as collateral for loans.

The bill authorizing the slaughter of animals infected with contagious diseases, and providing the payment of their actual value to the owner.

The bill preferring honorably discharged soldiers and sailors in employment in the public service of the State.

An act relating to the custody and care of indigent and pauper children by charitable institutions.

The act which provides greater safeguards for travelers upon the railroads of this State, affixing penalties for neglecting to take the precautions provided for.

The bill providing for a commission to inquire into the character and condition of tenement houses in the city of New York.

The act providing that telegraph and electric light companies shall lay their wires under ground in cities.

The bill to provide for the additional accommodations for common schools.

XIII.

NOTABLE VETOES.

THE enemies of Governor Cleveland and his administration have sought in every way possible to create prejudice in misrepresenting the motives of his many vetoes. The details of his veto of the Five-cent Fare bill, and the Tenure of Office bill I have given at length. Another veto—the Mechanics Lien bill—has given opportunity for misrepresentation. The original intention of this bill was to give mechanics power to secure their wages by the means of liens, but it was amended in a way to obscure its purpose. It allowed four months after performance of work, or furnishing material, to file a lien. This was considered ridiculous. The time was altogether too long, and it also gave the same costs as in foreclosures. In the instance of small bills the costs would have been so great as to cancel the benefits. It repealed existing mechanics lien laws, and these were considered more favorable than the new law. In addition to this it was found to be a scheme to increase lawyers' bills, and to diminish protection. In short, it reduced the mechanics to a level with all claimants.

The Conductors and Drivers bill brought out much controversy. Since 1870 the law of the State has read as follows:

“Eight hours shall constitute a legal day's work for

all classes of mechanics, workingmen, and laborers, excepting those engaged in farm and domestic labor ; but overwork for an extra compensation, by agreement between laborer and employer, is hereby permitted."

Subsequent sections of the law limited this provision to public works, although its effect has been to establish an eight-hour system. Early in the session of 1884, this bill was introduced :

SECTION 1. On and after the passage of this act it shall be unlawful for any officer or agent of any railroad corporation in any of the cities of this State, whose cars are drawn by horses, TO EXACT from conductors or drivers employed by them more than twelve hours labor for a day's work, and such corporations shall, out of said twelve hours' labor, allow such conductors and drivers a reasonable time to obtain meals.

§ 2. Any officer or agent of any such corporation who shall violate or otherwise evade the provisions of this act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, punishable by a fine not to exceed three hundred dollars or imprisonment not to exceed six months, or both fine and imprisonment for each offence.

It passed the Assembly, and was not considered in the Senate until two days before the session closed. It was at first defeated, but on a second consideration was adopted by a constitutional majority of seventeen votes. In comment the *Albany Evening Journal* (Republican) said :

"The Senate, however, gave these matters closer investigation, and finding that in many respects the bills checked rather than advanced the cause of labor, declined to concur in them. Among these measures was Mr. Earl's bill, fixing hours of labor for horse-car conductors, in behalf of which Speaker Sheard himself took the floor for the only time during the session. In the Senate it was shown that the bill would be inoperative, and it was accordingly lost. It was reconsidered late last night and passed. It is purely a piece of buncombe legislation, and a patent lie in its very title."

The bill did not in any way prohibit the making of a contract requiring any number of hours' work. If the car drivers and conductors worked fewer hours they would receive less pay. The Governor rightly concluded that the bill was not in the interests of the workingman. Owing to the delay by the Legislature the bill reached Governor Cleveland too late for amendment, and when the matter must be considered upon the merits of its legislation, instead of what it might have been had more care been taken by the promoters.

A charge was made against Governor Cleveland that he was hostile to the Catholic Church. It seems the last Legislature made a small appropriation for a charitable institution known as the Westchester Catholic Protectory, and it was vetoed on the grounds that the expense was more properly chargeable upon the treasury of the city of New York rather than on the State, and for the further reason that it would tend "to subject the State treasury to demands on behalf of all classes of sectarian institutions, which a due care for the money of the State and a just economy could not concede, and which would yet have a justification in precedent."

Mr. Henry L. Hoguet, president of the Protectory, wrote in answer to unjust criticisms on Governor Cleveland that: "We never doubted the sincerity of the motive which induced Governor Cleveland to withhold his signature to the appropriation to the Protectory. We thought then and think now, that he was not actuated by any feeling of bigotry or of hostility to Catholics or the Catholic institutions. On the contrary, Governor Cleveland is liberal in the extreme, and we are of the firm belief that he was led to withholding his approval of the appropriation solely by a sense of public duty as he viewed it."

A bill was introduced to authorize a compromise with the sureties of a defaulting debtor to the State. It was properly and promptly vetoed. Governor Cleveland is a strong barrier ; it is not an easy matter to get at the public treasury for private ends. In his message, he said :

“The persons who seek to be relieved under this bill signed a bond to the State for the safekeeping and repayment on demand of certain moneys deposited in behalf of the State in the First National Bank of Buffalo.

“The bank has failed and is unable to refund the State’s deposits. The securities in the bond have thus become liable to pay the money, and I can see no reason why they should be relieved.

“I am willing to do what I can to check the growing impression that contracts with the State will not be insisted upon or may be evaded. The money deposited with the bank was public money belonging to the people, and I regard it the duty of all having the care of State affairs, to see to it that no part is lost by an improper indulgence to those who have agreed that it should be safely kept.”

It will be of interest to state right here, that in the supply bill for 1883 Governor Cleveland found twenty-seven items, aggregating over \$251,000, which he vetoed for similar reasons—that is, appropriating public money for private use. In his veto of a bill to authorize the appropriation of money for a soldiers’ monument in Chautauqua County, he wrote : “It is not an agreeable duty to refuse to give sanction to the appropriation of money for such a worthy and patriotic object ; but I cannot forget that the money proposed to be appropriated is public money to be raised by taxation, and that all that justifies its exaction from the people, is the

necessity of its use for purposes connected with the safety and substantial welfare of the taxpayers."

In 1883 a bill was offered to amend the act authorizing gas-light companies to use electricity. The bill authorized corporations to lay, erect, and construct necessary conductors and fixtures over or under any public road, etc., in the State. Governor Cleveland was convinced that the safety and convenience of the people demanded that this should not be permitted. Then, too, another objection was allowing corporations to enter upon private property and maintain structures thereon without the consent of the owner. He concluded his remarks in this veto with his usual good way of common-sense philosophy: "It seems to me that this is taking private property, or an easement therein, with very little pretext that it is for public use. If a private corporation can, under authority of law, construct its appliances and structures upon the lands of the citizen without his consent, not only for the purpose of furnishing light, but in an experimental attempt to transmit heat and power, the rights of the people may well be regarded as in danger from an undue license to corporate aggrandizement."

Furthermore, in relation to the formation of corporations and the State's extremely liberal laws, Governor Cleveland wrote in his veto of the bill to extend time for payment of capital stock of the Utica Ice Co. :

"There is manifestly no propriety in the passage of a special act to relieve a private corporation and its stockholders, as proposed in this bill. If the capital already paid in is sufficient for its purpose, it may, I think, reduce its stock under section 15 of the act. In any event, the failure to pay in the stock within the time limited only subjects the company to be proceeded against and dissolved after a judgment obtained against it, and renders the stockholders, until such payment, liable for all the debts of the corporation.

"This company, and its stockholders, have assumed for their own benefit certain relations to the State, to the public, and to their creditors; and these relations should not be disturbed.

"If corporations are to be relieved from their defaults for the asking, their liability to the people with whom they deal will soon become dangerously uncertain and indefinite."

Governor Cleveland has strongly defined his position in regard to corporations, and his views were explicitly expressed when he said in his first message: "Corporations are created by the law for certain defined purposes, and are restricted in their operations by specific limitations. Acting within their legitimate sphere they should be protected; but when by combination or by the exercise of unwarranted power they oppress the people, the same authority which created should restrain them and protect the rights of the citizen. The law lately passed for the purpose of adjusting the relations between the people and corporations, should be executed in good faith, with an honest design to effectuate its objects and with a due regard for the interests involved."

In considering a section of a bill to amend the charter of the city of Buffalo, which Governor Cleveland vetoed, he said: "The purpose of the bill is too apparent to be mistaken. A tried, economical and efficient administration of an important department in a large city is to be destroyed, upon partisan grounds or to satisfy personal animosities, in order that the places and patronage attached thereto may be used for party advancement. I believe in an open and sturdy partisanship, which secures the legitimate advantages of party supremacy; but parties were made for the people, and I am unwilling, knowingly, to give my assent to measures purely partisan, which will sacrifice or endanger their interests."

The interests of the poor and laboring classes have

been faithfully guarded by Governor Cleveland, as will be shown in the following veto to the amendment of an act relating to banks and trust companies:

"I have listened to the arguments of the friends of this measure, and am still convinced that the present law should not be changed in the manner proposed.

"The bill before me provides that savings banks may invest the money of depositors in bonds and securities which are excluded by the present carefully prepared statutes regulating this subject. Among other things, it permits the investment of such funds 'in other good securities (excepting bills of exchange, promissory notes, deposits of personal property, and stocks to which by law the personal liability of stockholders attaches) which may be approved by the Superintendent of the Banking Department, the Governor, Comptroller, and State Treasurer, or a majority of them.'

"It must be conceded, I think, that no absolute certainty attends the judgment of men in relation to the matter of good securities. The State officers mentioned in the bill should not be burdened or intrusted with this important duty.

"I see no provision in the bill by which any security can be withdrawn from the list if once approved by these officers, even though it may become unsafe or worthless as an investment.

"Considerations have been earnestly urged upon me touching the ability of savings banks to pay a fair interest to depositors, with the present limitations upon the character of their investments.

"But I am firmly of the opinion that these institutions are, as their name implies, a place of deposit for the savings of those among the poor and laboring people who see the propriety of putting aside a part of their earnings for future need, or as the beginning of an accumulation. Such depositors are not, and should not be, investors seeking, as a paramount purpose, an income by way of interest on their deposits. When they come to that, there are other instrumentalities which should be employed.

"Absolute safety of the principal deposited is what the patrons of savings banks should seek; and any governmental control over these institutions should, first of all, be directed to that end.

"I am not satisfied that this is done when State officials, already charged with onerous duties, are called to decide upon the value of proposed securities, and when the safety of deposits is left to their deter-

mination, and the care of directors and trustees often tempted to speculative ventures, beyond their power to resist.

"A due regard to the protection of a class of citizens which should especially deserve the care of the State, requires, I believe, that the institutions having their savings in charge should be limited in the use of such deposits to investments described in the law, and which as nearly as possible insure absolute exemption from loss.

"I am unwilling to assent to the increased risk which, I am convinced, lurks in the provisions of the proposed bill."

In an act making appropriations for "certain expenses of government" some flagrant misuses of funds and unnecessary expenses were found by Governor Cleveland. In returning the bill with these items not approved he gave the following reasons :

"They are all declared to be gratuities. This implies that the sums of money specified in the several items are purely donations, and that they are in no sense obligations against the State. Many of the cases thus provided for involve considerations which strongly appeal to our pity and sympathy ; but my conception of public duty leads me to the conviction that the people pay taxes for their benefit and protection, and that this forced contribution of the public funds is not justified except upon that theory. Public officials having the money of the people in their keeping, are solemnly charged with the duty of expending the same with a due regard to business principles, for the substantial good of the citizen and for the public needs."

"This positively excludes the appropriation of the same for gratuities resting solely on motives of charity and benevolence."

"If a legitimate demand against the State is involved in any of these instances, a Court of Claims has been provided, in which it may be heard and passed upon, thus affording ample remedy to the citizen seeking redress from the State."

XIV.

A FRIEND OF THE WORKING PEOPLE.

DESPERATE efforts have been made by the antagonists of Grover Cleveland, to circulate among the working classes the statement that he is not their friend. Nothing could be more absurd and untrue. The whole life of the man is a contradiction. From infancy he had battled with the world under all sorts of circumstances; he has known the fruits of honest toil, and whatever its kind, he has shown his sympathy with others, and rendered support and encouragement of the most substantial order. We all know the story of the Frenchman who stood among others of a crowd who were expressing the deepest contrition by word of mouth for an unfortunate comrade. "See here!" exclaimed the Frenchman, "this is all very well, but I am sorry just ten dollars worth!" and placing the amount in a hat, he soon shamed many others into that sort of assistance.

The home estimate of Grover Cleveland would liken him to this Frenchman, and no matter what ignorance and enmity may say, he has the proud consciousness of enjoying his own peace of mind any way. Anent this he tells the story of an old fellow his father, the Rev. Mr. Cleveland, used to try to persuade to come over to his church. He was a strong Baptist, and would always say: "No; you folks are Presbyterians,

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and if I go over to your church I couldn't enjoy my mind." "Now I believe," continued Governor Cleveland, "every man has a right to enjoy his own mind, and for that reason I care very little to know what the papers are saying in abuse of me." In answer to a newspaper correspondent who asked what annoyed him the most he said: "Well, I have been more surprised at the way I have been misrepresented as to the laboring men, than anything else. I don't see how the idea ever got out in the first place that I have been opposed to the interests of laboring men. I cannot remember one single act in my life that could be reasonably construed into anything inimical to their best interests. It has been just the other way with me. I have always taken particular pains, whenever it was in my power, to see their interests well guarded. But I have no fear as to the outcome. I have observed that laboring men have minds of their own as well as political principles, and when there has been a full investigation of my official life the facts will be made known, and I am not uneasy as to the result. They talk about the workingmen as if they were a lot of sheep to be corralled or scattered by this man or that. Most workingmen are natural Democrats. Democracy means the rule of the people, and the Democratic party has always been the natural friend of the workingmen. I do not think any great number of those who are in my party will fail to vote for me, first, because they are naturally disposed to go with their party, and second, because they will learn long before election day that my attitude toward them has been misrepresented."

The fair-minded and intelligent laboring man, or workingman, call him what you may, will take the trouble to carefully examine Governor Cleveland's rec-

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ord before seriously listening to the evil whisperings of the enemy. The mechanic will understand the lien bill; the hatter will appreciate the bill to abolish contract labor in the prisons; the drivers and conductors of street cars will see wherein their own interests are upheld in the Drivers and Conductors' Bill, and the general working class know full well that they did not demand the passage of the Five Cent Fare Bill.

Let us look at some of the measures Governor Cleveland favored.

First the contest over the prison contract labor system. The *New York Evening Post* said in reference to it: "The question rose above special interests. Taxpayers, philanthropists, manufacturers, and politicians had something to say about it as well as the labor organizations. A veto of the abolition bill could have been defended on the broadest ground of public policy, yet the Governor not only signed it when it reached him, but coöperated with the friends of the measure while it was under discussion as far as it was proper for him to do so. He approved also of the bill to create a Commission to inquire into the subject of a substitute for the contract system. That this Commission effected nothing substantial was no fault of the Executive. Politicians in the Legislature pushed the original bill ahead of the Commission Bill for the purpose of making capital for themselves out of the labor agitation against the contract system, thus putting the Governor in a position where he had to either sign the abolition bill without seeing a way to some other system of prison labor, or else veto it and bring to naught all the work that had been done to secure its passage. The most liberal leaders in labor organizations regard Cleveland's action on

this measure as the most important service he has done their cause."

The champions of the bill forbidding the making of hats in the prisons showed that the industry of the State was suffering, and cited several special cases where operations had been suspended in consequence, but in spite of the opposition it received on account of the claims that such industries in the prisons made them self-supporting, Governor Cleveland signed the bill.

The party that placed Grover Cleveland as Governor of the State of New York made the following plank in 1882 :

"Twelfth. We reaffirm the policy always maintained by the Democratic party that it is of the first importance that labor should be made free, healthful, and secure of just remuneration. That convict labor should not come into competition with the industry of law-abiding citizens. That the labor of children should be surrounded with such safeguards as their health, their rights of education, and their future, as useful members of the community, demand. That workshops, whether large or small, should be under such sanitary control as will insure the health and comfort of the employed and will protect all against unwholesome labor and surroundings. That labor shall have the same rights as capital to combine for its own protection, and that all legislation which cramps industry, or which enables the powerful to oppress the weak, should be repealed ; and, to promote the interests of labor, we recommend the collection of statistics and information respecting the improvements, needs and abuses of the various branches of industry."

Can any one say that Grover Cleveland has failed to carry out his promises made in his letter of acceptance ? What was it he said then ? Listen : "The platform of principles adopted by the convention meets with my hearty approval. The doctrines therein enunciated are so distinctly and explicitly stated that their amplification seems scarcely necessitated. If elected to the office for which I have been nominated I shall endeavor to impress them upon my administration and make them the policy of the State."

Can any one say that he has not faithfully adhered to his promise of protecting the laboring classes? Listen again: "The laboring classes constitute the main part of our population. They should be protected in their efforts to assert their rights when endangered by aggregated capital, and all statutes on this subject should recognize the case of the State for honest toil, and be framed with a view of improving the condition of the workingman."

One more reference to convict labor. The last of the series of labor bills for 1883 was to abolish convict labor altogether in State prisons. The Republicans made a great opposition. Thomas F. Grady had the bill laid aside, and Governor Cleveland could not act upon it in 1883, but every bill relating to labor which reached him was promptly signed. In 1884 the convict labor measure was taken up again. As officially learned from Governor Cleveland the results were as follows:

"The bill prohibiting the employment of convicts in State prisons on contract labor.—This was popularly known as the 'Comstock' bill, and provided no substitute for the labor the convicts were employed in. There were several defects in the bill, as it reached the Governor, which would have made it inoperative, but the Governor called in Mr. Thayer, the President of the State Trades' Assembly, and pointing out the defects, among which was that penitentiaries were excepted from the provisions of the bill, suggested a recall of the bill to correct it, which was done, and then it was signed. Had not the Governor been the friend of labor he is, he could have defeated its object by signing it as it came to him. Subsequently, a bill known as the Howe Commission bill passed the Legislature, providing for the appointment of five commissioners, to in-

investigate and report by May 1st some suitable system for the employment of convicts. After an investigation of only a few days they reported that they could not make a report within the specified time. A bill was then passed extending the time until January 1, 1885. This the Governor vetoed, and in forcible terms, declaring that it was the duty of the Legislature to provide at that session some substitute. The Republican Legislature dallied with the question, and let it die, and the fact is, that as the contracts under which the convicts labor now expire, the convicts will be without work, the responsibility of which must rest upon the Republican Legislature."

Persistent misrepresentation has been made in relation to Governor Cleveland's position on the Tenement House Cigar bill—to prohibit the making of cigars in tenement houses. This bill was promptly signed when first presented. The law was subsequently declared defective in title and unconstitutional. The defect was remedied and again Governor Cleveland signed it.

The establishment of a bureau of labor statistics with a commissioner was opposed as useless, but the opposition of the Legislature was overridden and the bill was signed. The duty of the office is "to collect, assort, systematize, and present in annual reports to the Legislature, within ten days of the convening thereof in each year, statistical details relating to all departments of labor in the State, especially in relation to the commercial, industrial, social, and sanitary condition of workingmen, and to the productive industries of the State."

The bill creating laboring men preferred creditors for wages in case of the assignment of an employer, was one of the most important acts in the workingmen's interest,

and Governor Cleveland appreciated the good of it when he made it a law.

That Governor Cleveland's record on labor legislation has been such as to command the approval of laboring-men is shown in the following letter from Walter M. Thayer, President of the State Trades' Assembly, to the Albany *Argus* :

"TROY, July 21, 1884.

"I have been informed that a statement has been published to the effect that, while in Chicago at the recent national Democratic convention, I stated that I could pledge the vote of the workingmen of this and other localities, to Governor Cleveland. I wish to state that no such expression ever fell from my lips, and that no interview with me was ever published in which I made such a statement. On the contrary, I stated that *no man* could pledge the vote of the labor element of New York State, or of any portion of it, *to any candidate*, nor did any man have sufficient influence to cause it to be cast against any candidate. I stated that if any man pretended to pledge the workingmen's vote to any candidate, he did so without any authority. I stated that I had no authority to speak for them on political questions, nor had any one else. I was asked what my *personal* preferences were, and I said that I preferred Governor Cleveland. When asked my reasons, I expressed them as follows: The workingmen's assembly of this State has, since I have been at the head of that organization, succeeded in passing through the Legislature the following bills: Abolishing the manufacture of hats in State prisons, creating a bureau of labor statistics, the tenement house cigar bill (*twice*), the abolition of convict contract labor, the lien law, and the conductors and drivers' bill—seven in all. Of these measures, Governor Cleveland signed five and vetoed two, viz., the lien law, and the conductors and drivers' bill. As to the lien law, it is generally acknowledged now that he did us a kindness in vetoing that bill, because, through errors of our own in drafting the measure, the bill as passed would have been a positive injury to us. The

conductors and drivers' bill, I think, he should have signed. So the record shows that we have sent to Governor Cleveland six perfect bills and he has signed five and vetoed one. On this record I am not prepared to condemn him. If the Governor does us five favors and commits but one error, I feel that he is entitled to my support. In addition to the labor measures prepared by our organization, Governor Cleveland has signed a bill introduced by Senator Fassett, which makes workmen preferred creditors in case of assignment or failure of the firm or corporation by which they are employed. Recognizing the justice of the measure and its great benefits to the working class, I asked Governor Cleveland to sign it, and he did so without hesitation. So, to sum the matter up, he has approved of six bills favorable to our interests and disapproved of one. By his record on legitimate labor measures I judge him, and on the strength of that record I shall support him. I do not wish it understood that I am voicing the sentiments or preferences of any one but myself. I have no authority to speak for the workmen on political subjects."

Another bill signed by Governor Cleveland and which has been falsely stated as a veto, was the Child Contract Labor bill, making it unlawful for the trustees or managers of any house of refuge, reformatory, or other institute of correction, to contract or hire the labor of any child inmate.

I am aware that this chapter has reiterated much that I have said before, but I trust it is a good chapter for the special consideration of workmen; and let me tell the mechanic and the laborer that Grover Cleveland is a man with a big heart, and that heart is easily reached by the call of justice and truth. He is the same to-day, yesterday, and he will be the same to-morrow. He grasps the "horny hand of toil" with kindness and pity, but the political schemer will have to stand

XV.

A FRIEND OF THE SOLDIER.

AT the unveiling of the Soldiers' monument in Buffalo, July 4, 1884, Governor Cleveland was present. He had taken a deep interest in the success of the fund to be raised for the purchase of this memorial, and on the occasion of the laying of its corner-stone he was Mayor of the city. On the day of the unveiling a banquet was given at Music Hall to the Grand Army of the Republic, which had assembled in large numbers at their semi-annual encampment. The "Toasts" with the responses were as follows :

First.—"The President of the United States." Response by Hon. Richard Crowley.

Second.—"Our Country." Response by Hon. James O. Putnam.

Third.—"The Army and Navy." Response by General John F. Hartranft.

Fourth.—"The State of New York." Response by Governor Grover Cleveland.

Fifth.—"The City of Buffalo." Response by R. R. Hefford, President of Council.

Sixth.—"The Grand Army of the Republic." Response by Commander-in-Chief R. B. Beath.

Seventh.—"The Department of New York, G. A. R." Response by Department Commander Ira W. Hedges.

Eighth.—"The Volunteers." Response by Corporal James Tanner.

Ninth.—"Our Dead Comrades." Response by Rev. I. M. Foster, Chaplain-in-Chief.

Tenth.—“The Christian and Sanitary Commissions.” Response by Rev. Dr. L. Van Bokkelen.

Eleventh.—“Our Guests.” Response by General Henry A. Barnum.

Twelfth.—“The Press.” Response by Rev. P. Cronin.

Thirteenth.—“The Ladies.” Response by James F. Gluck.

Governor Cleveland's response was listened to with marked interest, and on resuming his seat at its finish he was loudly and warmly applauded. He said :

“I am almost inclined to complain because the sentiment to which I am requested to respond is not one which permits me to speak at length of the city which for more than twenty-nine years has been my home. You bid me speak of the State, while everything that surrounds me, and all that has been done to-day, reminds me of other things. I cannot fail to remember most vividly, to-night, that exactly two years ago I felt that much of the responsibility of a certain celebration rested on my shoulders. I suppose there were others who did more than I to make the occasion a success, but I know that I considered myself an important factor, and that, when after weeks of planning and preparation, the day came and finally passed, I felt as much relieved as if the greatest effort of my life had been a complete success.

“On that day we laid the corner-stone of the monument which has to-day been unveiled in token of its completion. We celebrated, too, the semi-centennial of our city's life. I was proud then to be its chief executive, and everything connected with its interests and prosperity was dear to me. To-night I am still proud to be a citizen of Buffalo, and my fellow-townsmen cannot, if they will, prevent the affection I feel for my city and its people.

"But my theme is a broader one, and one that stirs the heart of every citizen of the State.

"The State of New York, in all that is great, is easily the leader of all the States. Its history is filled with glorious deeds and its life is bound up with all that makes the nation great. From the first of the nation's existence, our State has been the constant and generous contributor to its life and growth and vigor.

"But to the exclusion of every other thought to-night, there is one passage in the history of the State that crowds upon my mind.

"There came a time when discord reached the family circle of States, threatening the nation's life. Can we forget how wildly New York sprang forward to protect and preserve what she had done so much to create and build up? Four hundred and fifty thousand men left her borders to stay the tide of destruction.

"During the bloody affray which followed, nearly fourteen thousand and five hundred of her sons were killed in battle or died of wounds. Their bones lie in every State where the war for the Union was waged. Add to these nearly seventeen thousand and five hundred of her soldiers, who, within that sad time, died of disease, and then contemplate the pledges of New York's devotion to a united country, and the proofs of her faith in the supreme destiny of the sisterhood of States.

"And there returned to her thousands of her sons who fought and came home laden with the honors of patriotism, many of whom still survive, and, like the minstrels of old, tell us of heroic deeds and battles won, which saved the nation's life.

"When our monument, which should commemorate the sufferings and death of their comrades, was begun, the veterans of New York were here. To-day they

come again and view complete its fair proportions, which in the years to come shall be a token that the patriotic dead are not forgotten.

"The State of New York is rich in her soldier dead, and she is rich in her veterans of the war. Those who still survive, and the members of the Grand Army of the Republic, hold in trust for the State blessed memories which connect her with her dead ; and these memories we know will be kept alive and green.

"Long may the State have her veterans of the war ; and long may she hold them in grateful and chastened remembrance. And as often as her greatness and her grandeur are told, let these be called the chief jewels in her crown."

In speaking of the parade on the morning of the day in question, the *Buffalo Express* (Republican) said : "Grover Cleveland looked every inch a governor yesterday. The applause and cheers with which he was greeted at many points along the line of march gave evidence of the deserved esteem in which he is held by his fellow-townsmen."

I have stated in an early part of this volume, in a foot-note, that political capital for slander had been made out of the action of Governor Cleveland in several instances, reflecting that his motives were influenced by his unfriendliness to the soldier. In a political address made by General Richardson, the following declarations were made, which I will print. They will serve as a good subject for discussion now that we are on this point, and the deceitful imputation can be made apparent.

"The Governor has never been friendly to the soldiers. While Mayor of Buffalo he vetoed an ordinance appropriating \$300 for the proper observance of Memorial Day. A one-armed veteran, James Young, em-

ployed in the Capitol at Albany, was made an almost helpless cripple by an accident. The Grand Army posts petitioned the Legislature to provide relief for the cripple. A bill was passed and the Governor vetoed it. Every Grand Army post in the State petitioned for a bill making it a misdemeanor for any person to wear a Grand Army badge unless an honorably discharged soldier or sailor. The bill was passed, and the Governor vetoed it. Massachusetts has a law on its statute-books which provides that every soldier and sailor shall be furnished by the State with an engraved certificate of discharge. In compliance with petitions from the soldiers of this State the Legislature passed a similar bill, and the Governor vetoed it. Such repeated rebuffs as he has administered to the soldiers, taken in connection with the fact that he was drafted and still did not go to the front, while his associate on the ticket was an avowed opponent of the War for the Union, are not likely to bring him many soldier votes."

As to the first statement the answer is made in extracts from a message dated at the time, and which I have printed in the fourth chapter discussing his mayoralty. For the same reasons he refused to sign the appropriation for the cripple mentioned—a misuse of public funds; but he suggested a subscription paper for those who were willing to show their sympathy lawfully, and agreed to contribute toward it personally to the best of his means. The bill relating to the wearing of army badges was as follows:

"SECTION 1. Any person who shall wear the badge of the Grand Army of the Republic, or who shall use or wear the same to obtain aid or assistance thereby within this State, unless he shall be entitled to use or wear the same under the rules, regulations, or by-laws of a Grand Army post, duly and regularly organized, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof by a court of competent jurisdiction shall be punished by imprisonment for a term not to exceed thirty days, or a fine not to exceed twenty dollars, or by both such fine and imprisonment.

"§ 2. The fines collected under the provisions of this act shall be paid, if the complaint upon which a conviction is procured is made by the comrade of any post, to the post to which such complainant belongs. If

such complaint shall be made by any other person than a comrade, then to the post or to the widow or orphan child or children of any deceased comrade who at the time of his death was a member in good standing of such post as may be designated by the complainant."

Governor Cleveland was compelled to let this bill pass without his signature, as it reached him too late to correct its obvious mistakes. The provision which makes it a misdemeanor to wear a Grand Army badge, "to obtain aid or assistance thereby within this State, unless he shall be entitled to use or wear the same under the rules, regulations, or by-laws of a Grand Army post, duly and regularly organized," was praiseworthy in that it fixed a penalty to a species of false pretences. But the question of intent is omitted, and as Governor Cleveland said: "The wearing need not be characterized by any intent, but is criminal if not in accordance with the rules and regulations of an army post with which the wearer may be entirely unacquainted. Also a child of a dead soldier, having pride in a father's defence of the Union, would be liable to penalty if found innocently wearing such a badge.

As to the certificates of discharge the bill was :

"SECTION 1. The Secretary of State is hereby authorized and empowered to procure a suitable plate on which to print a certificate to be presented, in the name of the State of New York, to all honorably discharged soldiers, sailors, and marines who enlisted and served in the Union army and navy from the State of New York.

"§ 2. The Secretary of State is hereby authorized to deliver to all honorably discharged soldiers, sailors, and marines, under the great seal of the State of New York, a copy of said certificate, having the signatures of the Governor, Adjutant-General, and Secretary of State.

"§ 3. The Comptroller is authorized to draw his warrant on the State Treasurer, to an amount not exceeding \$2,000, for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this act."

Governor Cleveland made no objection to this, but its provisions did not make it practical the way it stood. The sum of \$2,000 would not have paid for the cost of the plate alone, and an officer is prohibited from incurring a debt. The officer to have taken charge of the matter was not the Secretary of State, but the Adjutant-General, who is the sole custodian of the rolls of the volunteer soldiers.

As for the last statement of General Richardson—a statement that would be cowardly if it had not been maudlin—Grover Cleveland did not go to the war for the reason that a widowed mother needed his support. He sent a substitute, however.

XVI.

PRISON REFORM.

GOVERNOR CLEVELAND has taken much interest in the penal system, a system that will admit of many radical changes for the better. That he has shown a deep concern for the welfare of the general conduct has been shown by his acts. The different institutions of the State are the State prisons in Auburn, Sing Sing, and Clinton ; the penitentiaries of New York, Kings, Erie, Albany, Monroe, and Onondaga Counties, and the house of refuge and reformatories in New York and Elmira. The State prisons are under direct State control, the penitentiaries under county management, and reformatories under the direction of managers appointed by the Governor and confirmed by the Senate. The present superintendent of prisons (1884) was appointed by Governor Cornell.

Considerable comment has been made concerning the wisdom of Governor Cleveland's pardons, an erroneous idea existing that he has been very free in his power. In order to show a comparison with the acts of his predecessors he has presented the following table, which indicates a less percentage except in the case of Governor Cornell, who was notably severe :

	Acts of clemency.	Applica- tions.	Per cent.
Governor Fenton, 1865.	153	278	55
Governor Fenton, 1866.	194	452	42
Governor Fenton, 1867.	142	440	32
Governor Fenton, 1868.	153	400	38
Governor Hoffman, 1869.	108	298	36
Governor Hoffman, 1870.	120	400	30
Governor Hoffman, 1871.	118	344	34
Governor Hoffman, 1872.	157	600	26
Governor Dix, 1873.	55	242	22
Governor Dix, 1874.	95	362	26
Governor Tilden, 1875.	100	350	28
Governor Tilden, 1876.	160	456	35
Governor Robinson, 1877.	111	380	29
Governor Robinson, 1878.	174	402	43
Governor Robinson, 1879.	211	492	42
Governor Cornell, 1880.	56	226	24
Governor Cornell, 1881.	19	180	10. 34
Governor Cornell, 1882.	20	126	15
Governor Cleveland, 1883.	57	290	19
Governor Cleveland, 1884, to July 16.	34	237	14. 33

Governor Cleveland gave his reasons at length in the case of each pardon, and in all instances his ideas of justice have been deemed sound and good. Take, for instance, the clemency in the following offence, as stated, together with the reasons for commutation, in Governor Cleveland's message on the subject :

"This convict was charged with complicity in a most atrocious offence, which involved burglary and a murderous assault. The District Attorney who prosecuted the indictment, however, said of his connection with the crime : 'He was an inactive participant, and by a technicality only, chargeable with the assault.' So far as the burglary is concerned, the most that can be said is that he watched outside while another broke and entered the premises. At the time of his arrest and sentence the convict was not quite seventeen years old. He was a perfect stranger in the county where the offence was committed, and his antecedents were utterly unknown. His appearance and the fact, quite evident, that he was not one of the criminal class, excited at the time, I was informed,

general sympathy, and it was thought by both the Judge who sentenced him and the District Attorney, that his sentence should be severe, and that a commutation should be recommended if facts afterward discovered should justify such a course.

"It now appears that this young man was adopted by a Christian and estimable family in Indiana, when he was five years of age ; that he, up to the time of leaving his foster-parents, shortly before his arrest, had the advantage of religious teaching and training, which he seemed fully to appreciate and heed, developing no bad inclinations or tendencies, but, on the contrary, by his obedience, industry, and affectionate disposition, attaching himself to those who had the care of him, by a love not less than parental.

"A few months before his sentence he was enticed from his home by a chance acquaintance, older in years and not unfamiliar with crime, who concocted and actively perpetrated the offence for which he suffered imprisonment.

"Since his incarceration he had suffered from disease, and was in the prison hospital under treatment.

"The District Attorney recommended a commutation of his sentence. The Judge who sentenced the convict was dead.

"A petition for his release was presented, numerous signed by good citizens of the State of Indiana, who knew the convict at his former home, and bore testimony to his good character and correct demeanor. The prison authorities reported that his conduct during his confinement had been unexceptionable. His friends stipulated that when discharged he should at once be returned to his home. The crime committed, with which I assumed he was more or less wilfully connected, was so heinous that I was unwilling to grant a pardon ; but, in view of all the circumstances, I determined to commute his sentence to imprisonment for the term of four years. With continued good conduct, this entitled him to his discharge on the 25th day of November, 1883."

A pardon was given in the case of a murderer who had but a few days to live. Other pardons were given because the ends of justice had already been served, and others were given because the prisoners had been proved not guilty of the degree of crime for which they had been committed

A singular story is told in the following letter from

the Governor in relation to two men who had been sent to Auburn for life :

"The crime of which the convicts were guilty was an atrocious one. An old man was assaulted in his own house, and while one restrained him the other stole certain money which was kept in the house. Nearly three weeks after, the victim of the assault died.

"The District Attorney who prosecuted the case wrote that after a *post-mortem* examination the physician who conducted it reported to him that the deceased died of consumption, and that he, the District Attorney, requested the physician to keep the result of his examination secret. He plainly acknowledged that the plea of guilty of murder in the second degree, was obtained through the fear on the part of the accused and their counsel, in ignorance that the assault was not the direct cause of death, that a trial might result in a conviction of the highest offence known to the law. It is not surprising that this letter contained the following confession : ' I think it is plain they did not commit murder. I have long had unpleasant reflections whether I was not unjustly severe on all parties.'

"The Judge who sentenced the convicts and the physician who made the *post-mortem* were both dead, and in addition to the letter above referred to, I was only able to obtain a statement from the committing magistrate which sustained the theory that death was not caused by the attack made by the convicts.

"From all the facts I was able thus to obtain, it appeared that the offence of which these prisoners was really guilty was robbery in the first degree. The highest penalty for this crime is imprisonment for twenty years. Both of these convicts, by good conduct in prison, earned the full commutation allowed by law, so that the eighteen years which they have actually served is nearly equivalent to a sentence of thirty years.

"With no sympathy for these convicts, and entertaining the utmost detestation for their offence, I still deemed it my duty, because the law had so plainly miscarried in these cases, to interpose a pardon."

As to the treatment of prisoners Governor Cleveland has felt great concern—a feeling that discovers forcibly the noble character of the man. He had been only a month in office when he addressed a letter to Superin

tendent Baker, insisting upon less stern discipline. He said :

"I deem it proper to call your attention to the provisions of section 108 of chapter 460 of the Laws of 1847, which prohibits the infliction of blows upon any convict in the State prisons by the keepers thereof, except in self-defence or to suppress a revolt or insurrection ; and also to chapter 869 of the Laws of 1869, abolishing the punishments commonly known as the shower-bath, crucifix or yoke, and buck. I suppose these latter forms of punishment were devised to take the place of the blows prohibited by the law of 1847.

"Both of the statutes above referred to seem to be still in force, and, in my opinion, they are in no manner affected by the Constitutional Amendment giving the Superintendent the 'superintendence, management, and control of the prisons,' nor by sections 1 and 5 of chapter 107 of the Laws of 1877, providing that the Superintendent shall have the management and control of the prisons and of the convicts therein, and of all matters relating to the government, discipline, police, contracts, and fiscal concerns thereof, and that he shall make such rules and regulations for the government and punishment of the convicts as he may deem proper.

"I especially desire to avoid any injurious interference with the maintenance by the prison authorities of efficient discipline ; but I insist that in the treatment of prisoners convicted of crime, the existing statutes of the State on that subject should be observed."

In the line of reform Governor Cleveland decided that prisoners having an aggregate sentence of one year or over could earn commutation.

He also said in a message commenting on the conduct of Reformatories :

"Of the number above mentioned 507 (the 15,000 men, women and children confined in the prisons, houses of refuge, penitentiaries, reformatories, jails and protectories) were confined in the State Reformatory at Elmira, upon conviction of felonies. Such convicts are required to be between the ages of sixteen and thirty years. No term of imprisonment is fixed by the sentence, but they cannot be detained longer than the maximum time for which they might have been sent to prison.

Within this limit they may be imprisoned until discharged by the rules of the institution.

"The Board of Managers may transfer 'temporarily' to either of the State prisons, any inmate who, subsequent to his committal to the Reformatory, shall be shown to have been at the time of his conviction, more than thirty years of age, or to have been previously convicted of crime, or any apparently incorrigible prisoner, whose presence in the Reformatory appears to be seriously detrimental to the well-being of the institution. If after such transfer he is not recalled by the managers, he must remain in State prison during the balance of the longest sentence that might have originally been imposed upon him. The law allowing a reduction of the time of imprisonment for good conduct is not applicable to his case.

"On application to the prison at Auburn, I learn that since the Reformatory was established, and up to the 6th day of December, 1883, seventy-five persons who had originally been sent to the Reformatory were transferred under the conditions above stated to the Auburn State prison. Of these fifteen have been allowed to serve in prison the longest sentence that could have been pronounced for their crime; one was discharged by order of the managers of the Reformatory; one was transferred to Clinton prison; four were transferred to the Asylum for Insane Criminals (one of whom was subsequently returned to prison); two died; one was recalled to the Reformatory, and fifty-two still remained in the prison. How many of these were sent to the State prison by the managers because, in their view, they were 'apparently incorrigible prisoners, whose presence in the Reformatory appears to be seriously detrimental to the well-being of the institution,' is not reported, but it is safe to say that a large proportion were consigned to prison on that allegation. The prisoner thus transferred, who was sentenced to the Reformatory, in mercy, to avoid the stigma of a sentence to prison, and for purposes of reform, because he had maintained theretofore a good reputation and standing in society, may meet at the door of the prison his accomplice in the crime committed, who having made no pretence of character or respectability, has served the sentence to prison pronounced upon him by the court. The worst and most hardened criminals, if originally sent to prison, earn, by good conduct, a considerable reduction of imprisonment, but the convict from the Reformatory has no such thing to hope or strive for. In my opinion there should be no power vested in the Board of Managers of this institution to send persons committed to their care to the State prisons; and if the convicts are sentenced to the Re-

formatory, the courts should exercise the greatest care to be satisfied that they are promising subjects for Reformatory efforts, and fix a term beyond which they cannot be confined. A release before the time thus fixed might well be offered as a reward for improvement, reform, or good conduct.

"The law in relation to the reduction for good behavior of the terms of convicts in State prison should be made more plain and definite, and the power of the prison authorities to refuse such reduction be more exactly defined."

The Governor also decided that he had the right to extend commutation to Reformatory transfers, and in ordering the discharge of six he gave these reasons for the action :

"These convicts having been originally sentenced to the New York State Reformatory, no limit was fixed by the courts to the term of their imprisonment. But by the provisions of the statute relating to this institution, such convicts may be discharged by the managers, under certain conditions ; and, in case the discretion thus vested in the managers is not exercised, convicts committed to the Reformatory may be imprisoned therein for the longest term provided by law as a punishment for the offence of which they were convicted.

"Of course the intention of the law was that persons convicted of crime, whose youth, or freedom from criminal habits and associations, gave promises of reformation, should not be classed and kept with old and hardened criminals, but should be committed to the Reformatory, where they might receive instruction and encouragement, and that their discharge within the limit which the law had fixed for their crime should be dependent upon the progress they made toward reformation.

"But it is also provided that the managers of this institution may, in certain cases, transfer prisoners to a State prison, where, unless they are recalled to the Reformatory, they are kept the balance of the longest term for which they might have been sentenced to prison.

"This I consider entirely wrong. If a convict is to be confined in a State prison, the criminal courts should fix his term ; and the discretion which may be, in such cases, exercised by the courts, should not be abridged nor vested in the managers of a Reformatory.

"And, to add to this injustice and this anomalous method of administering the criminal law, it has thus far been held, I believe, that the provisions of the statute, relating to reduction of a prisoner's term for

good conduct, does not apply to such convicts as are transferred from the Reformatory to the prisons.

"The result is that an old offender, of previous bad character, is frequently sent to prison by the court, for a term much less than the longest time allowed by law, and through good conduct in prison, can earn considerable commutation of his sentence ; while a young man convicted of his first offence, with good character and respectable surroundings, sent by the court to the Reformatory, for imprisonment and reform, may be doomed by the managers of this institution to finish the longest term which his offence permits, in the State prison, with no commutation for the most exemplary conduct.

"The least that should be done for convicts transferred under the present law from the Reformatory to the prison is to allow them for good conduct in prison the same commutation on the remainder of the term for which they might be confined, dating from the day of their transfer, that they would be entitled to if that was the beginning of an original sentence to prison. I think the statute in relation to commutations for good conduct in prison permits this. If it does not it ought to, and I am glad that I have the power, in any event, to rectify such wrongs, by the interposition of a special commutation.

"The conduct of the six convicts above mentioned, so transferred from the New York State Reformatory to Auburn prison, is reported by the warden of the latter institution to be good.

"Making the deductions from their terms, which I believe them to have earned, all are now entitled to be discharged except two, whose terms, under the rule adopted, will respectively expire on the sixth and eighth days of the present month.

"I cannot now do what I regard full justice to all these convicts, but I have determined to approximate it as nearly as possible by commuting their terms to the eighth day of March, 1884, which is probably as early as the necessary documents can be perfected and forwarded."

I think I have told enough here about Mr. Cleveland's reform policy in the prisons and his correct views in exercising executive clemency. The subject of punishment for crime, the extremity of its measures, affords a study which should be based on humane philosophy. There is probably more crime conceived in the womb of prison correction than there is good coming out of it.

XVII.

APPOINTMENTS.

THAT Governor Cleveland has been his own civil service reform plank has been made plainly evident. He has ignored political influence and has striven to regard the fitness of men. He has shown admirable judgment in the character of all his appointments to office. These acts, and his strict legislation in justice and economy, have won for him the commendation of all classes. When he went into office there was a long list, a full list of officers to be appointed in the civil and military departments. Both branches of the Legislature were Democratic and the Democratic party had not been in power for three years. Besides this Mr. Cleveland's nomination had closed up a split in the party. There began immediately a siege. At his home in Buffalo there suddenly arose an army of office-seekers—men who had never contemplated entering into the political arena until the sudden rise of this man, whom they had been pleased to call their friend, acquaintance, citizen, or attorney. Then it was he found an extensive list of well-wishers and silent admirers, the existence of whom, as far as their interest in his life was concerned, he had hardly known. He was compelled to flee for a while into his Diogenic tub and philosophically consider. But he resisted the importunities of politicians,

and shrewdly and rightly excused himself with his "friends." His course was conservative. The first thing he did was to appoint a secretary. This created particular dismay. It had been coveted by not a few, and his decision in the matter was a determination difficult to arrive at, but it ended in the appointment of Daniel S. Lamont, who resigned his position of Clerk of the State Committee to accept it. Mr. Lamont is comparatively a young man, thirty-six years of age, of modest personal appearance, courteous, prompt, and of kindly disposition. He has been for years closely identified with the affairs of his party, and it is said there is no man in the State who has a larger acquaintance with the prominent Democrats of the country. His course has been in the interests of civil service reform, and he is very much like Governor Cleveland in his general view of things.

One of Governor Cleveland's first acts was to appoint three Railroad Commissioners. The law provided that one should be an anti-monopolist, one should be a Republican, and one a Democrat, and one of these should be acquainted with the railroad business. William E. Rogers, a graduate of West Point, and a civil engineer, was appointed by Governor Cleveland as the Republican, and as one well acquainted with the railroad business. The Democratic selection was John D. Kernan, son of Frances Kernan, a leading member of the bar. Both these appointments were received with marked favor. For the anti-monopolist, Governor Cleveland selected Mr. O'Donnell, and his work has satisfied the anti-monopolists in every way.

Concerning three other appointments, I cannot acquit myself better in the endeavor to show the wisdom of Governor Cleveland's selections than by using the words

of the astute "H. D. C.," a well-known Albany correspondent :

"The canals of this State have always been regarded by politicians as highly valuable deposits of patronage. No other State in the Union has an institution so valuable politically. In the old days of the Canal Commission and the toll system this patronage was more numerous than it is now, but it was often divided between the two parties, the Commissioners being elective, while the Auditor's office was filled by appointment. Now nearly all the men employed in connection with the canals are under one head—the Superintendent of Public Works. These number hundreds, and sometimes thousands, scattered through every Assembly district from Albany to Buffalo, from Troy to Lake Champlain, from Syracuse to Oswego, from Rome to the Black River country, and about the foot of Lakes Cayuga and Seneca. The power of the canal patronage to pack caucuses and through them to control political conventions is well understood in this State, to say nothing of the voting possibilities of the canal force at the polls. Governor Cleveland came to Albany a stranger, comparatively, to the methods by which the canal and other patronage is sought for. Because he was new in State affairs the politicians assumed that their wiles would be more effective with him. He was taken in hand by the Democratic Senators, and told that this thing and that must be done for the good of the party. A well-known politician, who had secured the endorsement of the Senators, was presented for the office of Superintendent of Public Works. He had no special fitness for the position ; he had had no experience on the canals. His only recommendation was that he had done good service for the party, had been officially

connected with the campaign which landed Cleveland in the Governor's office, was popular with his fellow-Democrats, and had been of special service to one of the most prominent of the Democratic Senators. This gentleman's appointment was urged on every ground of party expediency. The welfare of the State's public works and of the treasury was of secondary consideration. Governor Cleveland heard what the Senators had to say. He examined the documents in the case and found them regular by the party standard. There were other candidates no better fitted by special training for the place, but this one was the favorite with the politicians. Governor Cleveland was non-committal, but at the proper time he sent to the Senate for confirmation the name of the present Superintendent, James Shanahan, whose best, if not whose only, 'endorsement' was his intimate knowledge of the business he was to be responsible for. He had long been connected with the construction department of the canals, and had served as division superintendent, part of the time under a Republican Superintendent. In the Democratic party in this State there is not, perhaps, a more capable man, nor one more trustworthy for this important place. He has a rough exterior, and a bold, blunt way of meeting difficulties, whether they be breaks in the canal banks or importunities for places for unfit men. When he was named for Superintendent, fair-minded Republicans said the Governor was beginning well for a 'new man.'

"The next important appointment Governor Cleveland made was that of John A. McCall, Jr., to be Superintendent of the Insurance Department. It was at the time conceded by captious critics and by disinterested partisans to be an ideal appointment. McCall entered the Department as a messenger when he was a boy.

He had risen through every grade of employment to that of Deputy Superintendent, holding positions under both Republican and Democratic Superintendents. He was Deputy Superintendent during two Republican terms, and was chief clerk during another. When Orlan W. Chapman was appointed to the Superintendency in 1872, young McCall was about the only clerk who did not ask to be retained. Believing that a grand change would be made by the new Superintendent, he put his desk in order, left the keys for his successor, and informed his chief that everything was ready for whoever might take his chair. The chief told him he liked his appearance and his style of work and that he would be retained. Through every administration afterward he was in reality the acting Superintendent. When Governor Cleveland came to know his record he appointed McCall to the head of the Department, and thanked his stars that so fit a man was at hand. For this place the politicians had another man—one of their own kind. He had been for years conspicuous in the conventions, was a good stump-speaker, had been a Representative in Congress, where on one or two critical occasions he had in his own way fought battles for his party. His claims for recognition were stoutly urged upon the Governor, and disaster was predicted if his appointment was not made. To these importunities Mr. Cleveland turned a deaf ear, and sent to the Senate the name of the insurance expert, McCall.

“Then came the responsibility of appointing a man to carry on the work of building the new Capitol. The Legislature cut off the *ex officio* Commission and provided for a single-headed commission, to be appointed by the Governor and confirmed by the Senate. Governor Cleveland was in favor of this change. He found

the building still in a backward state, notwithstanding the expenditure of over \$13,000,000, and his practical sense led him to believe that the working force should be reorganized. When it was seen that the Single-Headed Commission bill was to be passed a scramble of the politicians took place for the new spoils. Cleveland's notion was that a practical builder of large experience, who possessed architectural as well as mechanical capacity, ought to fill so important an office. The politicians presented again the name of the gentleman whom they had urged for Superintendent of Public Works, and again pleaded party expediency. This candidate had had no experience to prepare him for the work of building the Capitol. Republican Senators recommended the former Superintendent of Construction, who was competent, perhaps, but who had, with everybody else connected with the work, fallen into a rut from which the Governor desired to lift the enterprise. He said openly that he did not care whether the proper man was a Republican or a Democrat, since politics and architecture are not readily found in one and the same man. In the midst of the canvass which the politicians were making for their favorites, the Governor by chance heard of Isaac G. Perry, of Binghamton, and learned that he was a builder of large experience. He sent a man to inquire about Perry and to ascertain both what he had done in his line and also what was said of his work by those best acquainted with it. The report of the messenger being favorable, Perry was invited to Albany to see the Governor. He came, supposing that he might be wanted as an expert to examine some part of the building. When he was offered the position of Commissioner and was made acquainted with the responsibilities of the place, he declined to accept until

he had fully considered the matter. When, a few days after, his name was sent to the Senate, the politicians were surprised because they had never heard of Mr. Perry in connection with politics. He is, like Shanahan of the canals, a sturdy architect and builder, full of 'horse sense' pertaining to his business, a good judge of men and their work in his line, and a total abstainer personally from political manipulation. His work on the Capitol shows for itself, and what it is is his own. He is not an office builder nor a commissioner merely in name. When the Republican Senate Committee investigated his work last winter, they acknowledged that he was a proper man to have charge of it."

The appointment of Charles B. Andrews, as Superintendent of Public Buildings was also fitting. Governor Cleveland had a good knowledge of the man, and his own confidence decided him against the importunities of others. The appointment of William H. Murtha gave a great deal of satisfaction, as also did the selection of the Civil Service Commissioners. On the death of John McKeon the appointment of Wheeler H. Peckham, to be District Attorney of New York, found widespread sentiment of favor, and on his retirement on account of ill health, the placing of Peter B. Olney in the position was likewise happy, as was also the appointment of Henry Wilder Allen, as Judge of the Court of Common Pleas. All other appointments were characterized by the same careful selection for the public service.

XVIII.

AMERICAN CITIZENS ABROAD.

GROVER CLEVELAND is a thorough American. He is too honest a man to be anything else but patriotic and devotional. I have seen Mr. Cleveland under many circumstances that justify me in saying that on one point, I think, he would be aggressive, and that is in any slight put on the American flag, or the ill-treatment of an American citizen abroad. He insists upon human rights, and he insists upon the right of the United States to protect its citizens.

April 9, 1882, a mass meeting was held in St. James's Hall, Buffalo, to protest against the treatment of American citizens imprisoned abroad by the American minister to England. At that meeting Grover Cleveland presided and spoke as follows :

"FELLOW CITIZENS : This is the formal mode of address on occasions of this kind, but I think we seldom realize fully its meaning or how valuable a thing it is to be a citizen.

"From the earliest civilization to be a citizen has been to be a free man, endowed with certain privileges and advantages, and entitled to the full protection of the State. The defence and protection of personal rights

of its citizens has always been the paramount and most important duty of a free, enlightened government.

“And perhaps no government has this sacred trust more in its keeping than this—the best and freest of them all; for here the people who are to be protected are the source of those powers which they delegate upon the express compact that the citizen shall be protected. For this purpose we chose those who, for the time being, shall manage the machinery which we have set up for our defence and safety.

“And this protection adheres to us in all lands and places as an incident of citizenship. Let but the weight of a sacrilegious hand be put upon this sacred thing, and a great strong government springs to its feet to avenge the wrong. Thus it is that the native-born American citizen enjoys his birthright. But when, in the westward march of empire, this nation was founded and took root, we beckoned to the old world, and invited hither its immigration, and provided a mode by which those who sought a home among us might become our fellow-citizens, they came by thousands and hundreds of thousands; they came and

Hewed the dark old woods away,
And gave the virgin fields to day;

they came with strong sinews and brawny arms to aid in the growth and progress of a new country; they came and upon our altars laid their fealty and submission; they came to our temples of justice, and under the solemnity of an oath renounced all allegiance to every other State, potentate, and sovereignty, and surrendered to us all the duty pertaining to such allegiance. We have accepted their fealty and invited them to surrender the protection of their native land.

“And what should be given them in return? Manifestly, good faith and every dictate of honor demand that we give them the same liberty and protection here and elsewhere which we vouchsafe to our native-born citizens. And that this has been accorded to them is the crowning glory of American institutions.

“It needed not the statute, which is now the law of the land, declaring that ‘all naturalized citizens while in foreign lands are entitled to and shall receive from this government the same protection of person and property which is accorded to native-born citizens,’ to voice the policy of our nation.

“In all lands where the semblance of liberty is preserved, the right of a person arrested to a speedy accusation and trial is, or ought to be, a fundamental law, as it is a rule of civilization.

“At any rate, we hold it to be so, and this is one of the rights which we undertake to guarantee to any native-born or naturalized citizen of ours, whether he be imprisoned by order of the Czar of Russia, or under the pretext of a law administered for the benefit of the landed aristocracy of England.

“We do not claim to make laws for other countries, but we do insist that, whatever those laws may be, they shall, in the interest of human freedom and the rights of mankind, so far as they involve the liberty of our citizens, be speedily administered. We have a right to say, and do say, that mere suspicion without examination or trial, is not sufficient to justify the long imprisonment of a citizen of America. Other nations may permit their citizens to be thus imprisoned. Ours will not. And this in effect has been solemnly declared by statute.

“We have met here to-night to consider this subject and to inquire into the cause, and the reasons, and the

justice of the imprisonment of certain of our fellow-citizens, now held in British prisons without the semblance of a trial or legal examination. Our law declares that the government shall act in such cases. But the people are the creators of the government.

"The undaunted apostle of the Christian religion imprisoned and persecuted, appealing centuries ago to the Roman law and the rights of Roman citizenship, boldly demanded: 'Is it lawful for you to scourge a man that is a Roman and uncondemned?'

"So, too, might we ask, appealing to the law of our land and the laws of civilization: 'Is it lawful that these our fellows be imprisoned who are American citizens and uncondemned?'

"I deem it an honor to be called upon to preside at such a meeting, and I thank you for it. What is your further pleasure?"

At a meeting of the Irish Land League in St. Stephen's Hall, Buffalo, December 5, 1881, Grover Cleveland presented the lecturer to the audience with this introduction:

"I desire to acknowledge the honor you have conferred upon me by this call to the chair. My greatest regret is that I know so little of the conditions that have given birth to the land league. I know, in a general way, that it is designed to secure to Ireland those just and natural rights to which Irishmen are entitled. I understand also that these are to be obtained by peaceful measures and without doing violence to any just law of the land. This should meet with the support and countenance of every man who enjoys the privilege of American citizenship and lives under American laws.

Our sympathy is drawn out by a bond of common manhood. We are here to-night to welcome an apostle of this cause, one who can, from personal experience, recount the scenes of that troubled isle ; who can tell us the risks that are taken and the pains that are suffered by those who lead the van in this great movement."

XIX.

BEFORE THE BAR ASSOCIATION.

IN Buffalo as well as throughout the State, Grover Cleveland earned the deep respect of the members of the Bar. But his legal career, his success, and reputation in that, has been told in a former chapter.

At the repeated solicitation of the State Bar Association, Governor Cleveland presided at the annual meeting held January 8, 1884. On that occasion he spoke with unusual earnestness of manner, as follows :

“GENTLEMEN OF THE ASSOCIATION : At a late hour I was solicited to preside at your meeting. I should certainly have felt that I must decline the invitation, but for two considerations. I was assured that no address would be expected of me, and that even a little speech on assuming the chair might be dispensed with. This disposed of one objection to my consent. The other consideration sprang up in my mind when I reflected that there would be here an assemblage of my professional brethren, and the impulse was irresistible to be among them for a time, though necessarily brief, and to feel about me the atmosphere from which, for a twelvemonth, I have been excluded. I beg to assure you, gentlemen, that in the crowd of official duties which for the past year have surrounded me, I have never lost

sight of the guild to which I am proud to belong, nor have I lost any of my love and care for the noble profession I have chosen. On the contrary, as I have seen the controlling part which the lawyers of the State assumed in the enacting of her laws, and in all other works that pertain to her progress and her welfare, I have appreciated more than ever the value and the usefulness of the legal profession. And when I have seen how generally my professional brethren have been faithful to their public trusts, my pride has constantly increased.

“And yet from the outside world I come within the grateful circle of professional life, to say to you that much is to be done before the bar of this State will, in all its parts, be what we all could wish. We hold honorable places, but we hold places of power—if well used, to protect and save our fellows—if prostituted and badly used, to betray and destroy. It seems to me that a profession so high and noble in all the purposes of its existence should be only high and noble in all its results. But we know it is not so. There is not a member of the bar in this assemblage who has not shuddered when he thought of the wicked things he had the power to safely do ; and he has shuddered again when he recalled those whom he was obliged to call professional brothers, who needed but the motive to do these very things.

“An association like this, to be really useful, must be something more than a society devoted to laudation of the profession. It should have duties to perform, earnest in their nature and not the less boldly met because they are disagreeable. Those who steal our livery to aid them in the commission of crime should be detected and exposed ; and this association, or branches of it,

should have watchmen on the walls to protect the honor and fair fame of the bar of the State.

"Your words are fair, when in your constitution you declare the objects of this association to be 'to elevate the standard of integrity, honor, and courtesy in the legal profession;' and I have no doubt you have done much in that direction; but I hope I may be pardoned for reminding you here that frequently, to insure health and vigor, the bad diseased limbs of the tree must be lopped off.

"My thought has carried me further than I intended. Be assured I have spoken in no censorious spirit. I congratulate the State Bar Association on all it has done, and for one am determined to aid its work as well during my temporary professional exile as when I shall again gladly mingle in the contests of the bar."

XX.

THE NOMINATION FOR PRESIDENT.

THE Democratic National Convention for 1884 assembled in Chicago on the 8th of July. Among the leading delegates were : Thurman, Morrison, Hewitt, Hendricks, Hampton, Voorhees, and Wallace. Hon. Richard B. Hubbard, of Texas, was elected Temporary Chairman, and on taking the chair made an address of some length, declaring the desire for harmony and reform in the *personnel* of men and in measures of the government.

Mr. Smalley, of Vermont, who represented the National Committee, proposed a rule to debar any State from changing its vote during the progress of the roll-call on a ballot for candidates. Mr. Grady, of Tammany Hall, New York, representing the minority of the New York delegation, who were opposed to Governor Cleveland, offered an amendment. He proposed to give any member of a State delegation the right to challenge the vote of the delegation as announced by its chairman, and, thereupon, to have the delegation polled and the individual votes of its members taken and recorded as the vote of the delegation. This attack on the unit rule, which had been anticipated, led to a vehement and protracted discussion, in which Mr. Grady, John Kelly, Mr. W. Bourke Cockran, Carter Harrison, and others argued that to enforce the unit rule

would be practically to disfranchise the largest Democratic constituencies in the Empire State ; while Messrs. John R. Fellows, ex-Senator James R. Doolittle, and other speakers, argued that the New York delegation could not disobey the instructions of the State Convention, and that the National Convention could not interfere and set the instructions aside. Finally, Mr. Grady's amendment was lost, and the unit rule in the New York delegation was left in force by a vote of 463 to 322, seven delegates not voting. This defeated the amendment without the vote of New York. Chairman Manning, of the New York delegation, withheld its vote until that was manifest, and then, after announcing the individual preferences of the delegates, cast the vote solid against the amendment, while members of the minority protested. The result was a round of cheers, being interpreted as significant of the coming triumph of the Cleveland "boom."

On the opening of the second day a member of the Committee on Resolutions reported that the committee was at work, but would not be able to finish its labors until the following morning. Permission was accorded the committee to sit during the sessions of the Convention, after which two hours were occupied in the reception of resolutions on all sorts of subjects, which were invariably referred without debate. The Far-Western delegates were prolific in resolutions about the sale of public lands, about the Chinese, and against polygamy. There were resolutions also against convict labor, in favor of civil service reform, enlarging the powers of the National Committee, and amending the Constitution so as to give a six years' term to the President. The Committee on Credentials reported in favor of seating the delegates from the Territories and of giving them a

vote, which was agreed to. The Committee on Permanent Organization then reported, recommending for Permanent Chairman Colonel William F. Vilas, of Wisconsin, whose name was received with hearty applause. The Vice-Presidents and Secretaries named by the States were given seats on the platform, and the Temporary Secretary, ex-Mayor Prince, of Boston, and his corps of assistants were continued as permanent officers. On taking the chair, Colonel Vilas spoke at some length, arousing considerable enthusiasm by his vigorous assault upon the Republican Party and its record. At the conclusion of his remarks a resolution was offered to expedite the business of the Convention by at once calling the roll of States and placing in nomination candidates of the respective States for nomination to the office of President. This provoked a lively contest, but after a series of dilatory motions had been defeated by an overwhelming vote, it was agreed that candidates for President should be presented immediately, but that no vote should be taken until the platform had been reported. An incident of the voting was another futile struggle by Tammany to get the unit rule in the New York delegation set aside.

Upon the call of States, Delaware presented Bayard ; Indiana, by the voice of Thomas A. Hendricks, presented McDonald ; California presented Thurman ; Kentucky named Carlisle ; Massachusetts presented nobody, and New York presented Cleveland. Tammany men seconded the nominations of Bayard and Thurman. It was past six o'clock when the roll-call had got by New York, and the Convention adjourned for the day. The names of Thurman and Cleveland provoked much greater enthusiasm than any others. When New York was called, and Mr. Daniel S. Lockwood, of Buffalo, proceeded to

the platform to present Mr. Cleveland's name, the cheering was enthusiastic and prolonged.

Mr. Lockwood spoke as follows :

"MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION : It is with no ordinary feeling of responsibility that I appear before this Convention as the representative of the Democracy of the State of New York (applause) for the purpose of placing in nomination a gentleman from the State of New York as a candidate for the Presidency of the United States. This responsibility is made greater when I remember that the richest pages of American history have been made up from the records of Democratic administration. (Applause.) This responsibility is made still greater when I remember that the only blot in the political history done at Washington, an outrage upon the rights of the American people, was in 1876, and that that outrage and that injury to justice is still unavenged (applause), and this responsibility is not lessened when I recall the fact that the gentleman whose name I shall present to you has been my political associate from my youth. Side by side have we marched to the tune of Democratic music ; side by side have we studied the principles of Jefferson and Jackson, and we love the faith in which we believe ; and during all the time he has occupied a position comparatively as a private citizen, yet always true and always faithful to Democratic principle. No man has greater respect or admiration for the honored names which have been presented to the Convention than myself ; but, gentlemen, the world is moving, and moving rapidly. From the North to the South new men—men who have acted but little in politics—are coming to the front (applause), and to-day there are hundreds and thousands of young men in this country, men who are to cast their first vote,

who are independent in politics, and they are looking to this Convention, praying silently that there shall be no mistake made here. They want to drive the Republican party from power. They want to cast their vote for a Democrat in whom they believe. (Applause.) These people know from the record of the gentleman whose name I shall present that Democracy with him means honest government, pure government, and protection of the rights of the people of every class and every condition.

“A little more than three years ago I had the honor at the city of Buffalo to present the name of this same gentleman for the office of Mayor of that city. It was presented then for the same reason, for the same causes, that we present it now ; it was because the government of that city had become corrupt and had become debauched, and political integrity sat not in high places. The people looked for a man who would represent the contrary, and without any hesitation they named Grover Cleveland as the man. (Here was a wild outburst of applause, and it was some time before the uproar could be quelled.)

✓ “The result of that election and his holding that office was that in less than nine months the State of New York found herself in a position to want just such a candidate and for such a purpose, and when at the Convention of 1882 his name was placed in nomination for the office of Governor of the State of New York, the same people, the same class of people, knew that that meant honest government ; it meant pure government, it meant Democratic government and it was ratified by the people. (Cheers.) And, gentlemen, now, after eighteen months’ service there the Democracy of the State of New York come to you and ask you to give to the

✓ country, to give to the independent and Democratic voters of the country, to give the young men of the country, the new blood of the country, and present the name of Grover Cleveland as their standard-bearer for the next four years. I shall indulge in no eulogy of Mr. Cleveland. I shall not attempt any further description of his political career. It is known. His Democracy is known. His statesmanship is known throughout the length and breadth of the land, and all I ask of this Convention is to let no passion, no prejudice influence the duty which it owes to the people of this country. Be not deceived, Grover Cleveland can give the Democratic party the thirty-six electoral votes of the State of New York on election day. He can, by his purity of character, by his purity of administration, by his fearless and undaunted courage to do right, bring to you more votes than can anybody else. Gentlemen of the Convention, but one word more. Mr. Cleveland's candidacy before this Convention is offered upon the ground of his honor, his integrity, his wisdom, and his Democracy. (Cheers.) Upon that ground we ask it, believing that if ratified by this Convention he can be elected and take his seat at Washington as a Democratic President of the United States."

Mr. Grady immediately uttered an opposition to Mr. Cleveland, followed by Mr. W. B. Cockran, but both men were greeted by tumult and confusion.

On the third day the call of States for nominations being resumed, Missouri presented Thurman and Cleveland, Ohio presented Hoadly, Pennsylvania nominated Randall, Massachusetts named Bayard, and Wisconsin seconded the nomination of Cleveland. General Bragg in stating the choice of Wisconsin made a fierce attack on Tammany Hall, which was as fiercely resented by

Mr. Grady. Other speakers spoke with great vehemence for and against Mr. Cleveland, and at times the greatest confusion prevailed. The Committee on Resolutions being still unprepared to report, owing to the dissensions on the subject of the tariff, the Convention adjourned until evening, when, having reassembled, Mr. Morrison presented the platform agreed upon.

It was now nearly midnight, but the Cleveland men were determined to prevent an adjournment, and, accordingly, a resolution for an immediate ballot was rushed through under the previous question. Intense excitement ensued, amid which the States were called. The result of the ballot was as follows : Cleveland, 392 ; Bayard, 170 ; Thurman, 88 ; Randall, 78 ; McDonald, 56 ; Carlisle, 27 ; Flower, 4 ; Tilden, 1 ; Hoadly, 3 ; Hendricks, 1. Ohio gave Hoadly 21, Cleveland 21, and Thurman 24, but afterward gave the Hoadly votes to Cleveland.

THE FIRST BALLOT BY STATES.

STATES.	Cleveland.	Bayard.	McDonald.	Thurman.	Randall.	Hoadly.	Carlisle.	Flower.	Tilden.	Hendricks.	TOTAL.
Alabama.....	4	14	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	20
Arkansas.....	14	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	14
California.....	..	..	..	16	..	..	..	..	..	..	16
Colorado.....	..	..	5	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
Connecticut.....	12	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	12
Delaware.....	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
Florida.....	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
Georgia.....	10	12	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	24
Illinois.....	28	2	11	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	44
Indiana.....	..	..	30	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	30
Iowa.....	23	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	26
Kansas.....	11	5	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	18
Kentucky.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	26	..	..	..	26
Louisiana.....	13	1	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	16
Maine.....	12	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	12
Maryland.....	6	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	16
Massachusetts.....	5	21	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	28
Michigan.....	14	1	..	11	..	..	..	..	..	..	26
Minnesota.....	14	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	14
Mississippi.....	1	15	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	18
Missouri.....	15	10	1	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	32
Nebraska.....	8	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	10
Nevada.....	..	..	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
New Hampshire.....	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
New Jersey.....	4	3	..	11	..	..	..	..	..	..	18
New York.....	72	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	72
North Carolina.....	..	22	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	22
Ohio.....	21	..	..	23	..	2	..	..	..	..	46
Oregon.....	2	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
Pennsylvania.....	5	..	..	..	55	..	..	..	..	..	60
Rhode Island.....	6	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
South Carolina.....	8	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	18
Tennessee.....	2	8	3	9	1	..	..	..	1	..	24
Texas.....	11	10	1	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	26
Vermont.....	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
Virginia.....	13	9	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	24
West Virginia.....	7	2	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	12
Wisconsin.....	12	1	2	2	..	..	1	4	..	..	22
TERRITORIES.											
Washington.....	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	2
Dakota.....	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Arizona.....	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Idaho.....	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Montana.....	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Wyoming.....	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
New Mexico.....	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Utah.....	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
District of Columbia.....	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	2
Total.....	392	170	56	88	78	3	27	4	1	1	820

The proceedings of the fourth and last day are thus described :

“Thoroughly exhausted, the Convention now adjourned until eleven o'clock A. M., when it reassembled and proceeded to a second ballot, which resulted in the nomination of Mr. Cleveland. A remarkable scene occurred when Illinois was called for votes on this ballot. The Chairman was proceeding to announce the preferences of the delegation, and began by saying that the vote would be cast for Hendricks, when the name was taken up by the thousands in the hall and shouted back and forth. The Chairman was unable to get order, the delegates rising in their seats and cheering wildly. The banner of the Indiana delegation was taken and carried to the platform, but the Chairman ordered it returned to the delegation. For fully twenty minutes the enthusiasm knew no bounds, but it was finally suppressed and the call of States was continued. At the end of the regular call, Cleveland had received 497 votes, and needed only fifty votes more, which came with a mad rush, State after State falling into line. The excitement rose higher and higher, and the artillery on the lake shore had begun to thunder out the news of Cleveland's triumph long before the clerks had corrected the roll and Chairman Vilas had officially announced the result. As soon as it was discovered that Cleveland had received the necessary two-thirds, a large floral anchor was passed up to the platform. Upon it was perched a stuffed bird with spread pinions and open beak, from which depended a label bearing the name 'Cleveland.' The band struck up patriotic airs, flags and banners were waved, the Convention cheered, and for a quarter of an hour all was noise and rejoicing.

THE SECOND BALLOT.

STATES.	CANDIDATES.						TOTAL.
	Cleveland.	McDonald.	Bayard.	Thurman.	Hendricks.	Randall.	
Alabama	5	1	14	..	..	..	20
Arkansas	14	..	..	..	..	..	14
California	16	..	..	..	..	..	16
Colorado	6	..	..	..	..	..	6
Connecticut	12	..	..	..	..	..	12
Delaware .....	..	..	6	..	..	..	6
Florida	8	..	..	..	..	..	8
Georgia	22	..	2	..	..	..	24
Illinois	43	1	..	..	..	..	44
Indiana	30	..	..	..	..	..	30
Iowa	26	..	..	..	..	..	26
Kansas	17	..	1	..	..	..	18
Kentucky	4	..	21	1	..	..	26
Louisiana	15	..	..	1	..	..	16
Maine	12	..	..	..	..	..	12
Maryland	16	..	..	..	..	..	16
Massachusetts	8	..	7½	..	12½	..	28
Michigan	23	..	..	..	3	..	26
Minnesota	14	..	..	..	..	..	14
Mississippi	2	..	14	..	2	..	18
Missouri	32	..	..	..	..	..	32
Nebraska	9	..	1	..	..	..	10
Nevada .....	..	..	..	1	5	..	6
New Hampshire	8	..	..	..	..	..	8
New Jersey	5	..	2	..	11	..	18
New York	72	..	..	..	..	..	72
North Carolina	22	..	..	..	..	..	22
Ohio	46	..	..	..	..	..	46
Oregon	6	..	..	..	..	..	6
Pennsylvania	42	..	2	1	11	4	60
Rhode Island	7	..	1	..	..	..	8
South Carolina	10	..	8	..	..	..	18
Tennessee	24	..	..	..	..	..	24
Texas	26	..	..	..	..	..	26
Vermont	8	..	..	..	..	..	8
Virginia	23	..	..	..	1	..	24
West Virginia	10	..	2	..	..	..	12
Wisconsin	22	..	..	..	..	..	22
TERRITORIES.							
Arizona	2	..	..	..	..	..	2
Dakota	2	..	..	..	..	..	2
Idaho	2	..	..	..	..	..	2
Montana	2	..	..	..	..	..	2
New Mexico	2	..	..	..	..	..	2
Utah	2	..	..	..	..	..	2
Washington	2	..	..	..	..	..	2
Wyoming	2	..	..	..	..	..	2
District of Columbia	2	..	..	..	..	..	2
Total	683	2	81½	4	45½	4	820

When the result was announced it appeared that Cleveland had 683 votes; Bayard had $81\frac{1}{2}$; McDonald, 2; Thurman, 4; Randall, 4; and $45\frac{1}{2}$ votes—the majority of them from Massachusetts, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania—were retained by Hendricks. While cannon were still booming in the adjoining street, the nomination was made unanimous upon Mr. Hendricks' motion. After a brief adjournment the Convention again came together and nominated Thomas A. Hendricks unanimously for Vice-President. Then the enthusiasm again broke out. The standards of all the States were wrenched from their fastenings and brought before the Chairman's desk, where they were waved with frantic vigor. The band happened to strike up 'The Star-Spangled Banner' at that moment. Some one began to sing the song, and the entire Convention and audience followed his example with great vim. Song after song followed, among them, 'Should Auld Acquaintance be Forgot,' the 'Doxology,' 'America,' and 'Home, Sweet Home.' Then the National Democratic Convention of 1884 was adjourned."

XXI.

RECEPTION OF THE NOMINATION.

ON Friday morning, July 11, 1884, Governor Cleveland walked to the Capitol building from his bachelor quarters at his usual early hour. He went to the Executive Chamber and immediately sat down to work on the examination of a number of papers which required speedy action. This kept him busy until after twelve o'clock, and it can be fairly said that of all persons interested in the political movements of the country at that hour Governor Cleveland was the least anxious. At half after twelve Adjutant-General Farnsworth joined him, and together they retired to the private room connecting with the Executive Chamber, to consider matters appertaining to the State Camp. Occasionally a messenger interrupted the discussion with the latest news from Chicago, and finally came the announcement of the first ballot, which was received with hardly any demonstration on Governor Cleveland's part. They both went on with their figuring.

But biographers are not omnipresent, and I can best record the scenes of the next hour in the Capitol building by giving a correspondent's description :

"At about 1:45, General Farnsworth, with the soldier's instinct, first heard the cannon shot. He held up his hand and said, 'Listen!' They listened, and then

came another roar from the brass 'Baby Waker' that the Young Men's Democratic Club had stationed at the foot of State Street. General Farnsworth promptly jumped to his feet and said: 'They are firing a salute, Governor, over your nomination.'

"'That's what it is,' said Colonel Lamont.

"'Do you think so?' said the Governor. 'Well, anyhow, we'll finish up this work ;' and at it they went again. But the Governor's co-workers had no heart in it after that. If any doubt remained as to what the booming of cannons meant, it was soon dispelled by a telephone call which said: 'Tell the Governor he has been nominated on the second ballot.' Colonel Lamont, the private secretary of the Governor, conveyed the news. The Governor smiled. He did not seem to be at all nervous or excited. Hand-shakings occurred and then the Governor said, suddenly: 'Lamont, I wish you would telephone that to the mansion; sisters will want to hear it.' The colonel did so. The Governor, adjutant-general, and private secretary retired to the chamber, the doors of which were thrown wide open, in good old Democratic fashion, and then a veritable ovation commenced. The Governor stood quiet and dignified while he received the congratulations of the fifteen or twenty persons present. He returned the hand-shake of all with a firm, hearty pressure. Then the stream of visitors came flocking in. Crowds were seen converging toward the Capitol entrances. Many were ladies. The line was by no means confined to politicians. In it were all kinds and conditions of men, some well and others poorly dressed, a cosmopolitan crowd. One, a workingman from the street, in his shirt sleeves, extended his hand with a 'God bless you,' to the Governor. The stream of visitors continued for nearly two hours.

The Governor had nothing to say beyond expressing his thanks to those who offered congratulations. Meanwhile the congratulatory dispatches began to arrive, and they poured in until a bushel basket would not hold them. There must have been at least a thousand."

Immediately on learning of the results of the balloting Senator Bayard telegraphed :

"Accept my best wishes for your triumphant election and assurances of my thorough and steadfast support in the canvass.

"T. F. BAYARD."

This was particularly gratifying to Governor Cleveland, coming from one who had also been a candidate.

Governor George Hoadly sent word :

"I congratulate you and our country. We are now firing one hundred guns. Ohio leads the column for your victory.

"GEORGE HOADLY."

Secretary of State Kelsey, of New Jersey, telegraphed :

"No nomination could be so strong in New Jersey."

The Hon. George D. Wise, of Virginia, telegraphed :

"Virginia will give you 30,000 majority."

The Chairman of the Democratic Committee of West Virginia telegraphed :

"Congratulations and enthusiastic support."

Congressman Leopold Morse :

"Your nomination is an indorsement of honest independence in public office. Accept my congratulations."

The Chairman of the Washington County Committee telegraphed :

"We will give you the largest Democratic vote ever cast in the county."

The receipt of the news in Buffalo was thus described : "Cleveland's nomination was received with unusual demonstrations of joy here, and, as would be natural in the nominee's own city, Republicans brought in contact with the enthusiasm of the opposite party temporarily gave themselves up to cheers for their fellow-townsmen. The first demonstration was on 'Change, the scene of members cheering from tables, chairs, etc., far exceeding a like occasion five weeks ago, when Blaine was selected. Three salutes of one hundred guns each were fired in different sections of the city on receipt of the news. A vast number of congratulatory telegrams were sent to the Governor from prominent Democrats and Republicans alike. Members of the City Club, of which the Governor is a favorite member, sent words of congratulation in the name of the club. Bands played in front of the County Committee Headquarters and afterward paraded the streets. Liberal displays of fireworks were made in various parts of the city, and cheers followed for Cleveland wherever a knot of men congregated. The city will be painted red tomorrow night, on the return of the marching clubs, delegates, and workers, and it is expected the demonstrations will surpass anything in the annals of Buffalo. The returning delegation will be met at the train and escorted to a hall through a sea of flame. The managers have already bought all the fireworks in the city, and have sent to Rochester for two thousand more Roman candles, in addition to many pounds of colored fires, rockets, etc."

In Washington the Democrats made many demonstrations of approval, and even Republicans declared that the opposite party would now have to work harder than they had ever yet done.

At the Executive Mansion in Albany a mass of telegrams accumulated ; it was utterly impossible to keep up with them. From all parts of the country came words of congratulation and pledges of support from private and public sources, while from Buffalo there seemed no end to the expressions of joy and hope—bankers, ministers, merchants, workingmen, and if ever a man had occasion to believe there was such a place as home, that was Grover Cleveland.

In the evening there was a great demonstration at the Executive Mansion. The Young Men's Democratic Club and the Jacksonians tendered the Governor a serenade. Three or four thousand people, among whom were many ladies, assembled to honor the successful candidate. The spacious grounds were brilliant with colored fires, Roman candles, and rockets, and the scene recalled a similar occasion eight years ago, when Governor Tilden was congratulated at the same place on his nomination for President. As Governor Cleveland appeared at the porch in company with James F. Tracey, President of the Club, S. B. Towner, and Colonel A. J. Parker, Jr., he was greeted with enthusiastic and long-continued cheers.

Mr. Tracey addressed the Governor as follows : " The members of the Young Men's Democratic Club of Albany feel that there is a fitness in our coming here to-night, because our organization in some small measure represents not only the capital city of the State where your official record has been made, but also that potent non-office-holding public, and especially the independent young men of the country, whose spontaneous demand has caused your nomination. But we come here not alone. With us are the Jacksonians, a body of men, most of them workingmen, with a history worthy of their name, who, after the Presidential convention of eight

years ago, were the first on this spot to greet your great predecessor. In this throng about us we recognize many prominent citizens—Democrats and non-Democrats, taxpayers, laboring men, and business men, but all to-night Cleveland men, all united in heartily rejoicing that you who have for some years lived among us as our neighbor have been selected by the Democratic party for its highest honor, from the very outset the favorite of the largest body of the representatives of that party in its National Convention. You have obtained the requisite two-thirds vote of the delegates. You are emphatically the choice of the people ; and we know that you will cease to be the people's candidate only on that day when you are elected the people's President. In behalf of the people, the citizens of Albany tender you their congratulations on your nomination."

Governor Cleveland answered as follows :

"FELLOW-CITIZENS: I cannot but be gratified with this kindly greeting. I find that I am fast reaching the point where I shall count the people of Albany not merely as fellow-citizens, but as townsmen and neighbors. On this occasion I am, of course, aware that you pay no compliment to a citizen and present no personal tribute, but that you have come to demonstrate your loyalty and devotion to a cause in which you are heartily enlisted. The American people are about to exercise in its highest sense their power and right of sovereignty. They are to call in review before them their public servants and the representatives of political parties and demand of them an account of their stewardship. Parties may be so long in power and may become so arrogant and careless of the interests of the people as to grow heedless of their responsibility to their masters, but the time comes as certainly as death when the people weigh

them in the balance. The issues to be adjudicated by the nation's great assize are made up and are about to be submitted.

"We believe that the people are not receiving at the hands of the party which for nearly twenty-four years has directed the affairs of the nation the full benefits to which they are entitled of a pure, just, and economical rule, and we believe that the ascendancy of genuine Democratic principles will insure a better government and greater happiness and prosperity to all the people. To reach the sober thought of the nation and to dislodge an enemy intrenched behind spoils and patronage involve a struggle which if we underestimate we invite defeat. I am profoundly impressed with the responsibility of the part assigned to me in this contest. My heart, I know, is in the cause, and I pledge you that no effort of mine shall be wanting to secure the victory which I believe to be within the achievement of the Democratic hosts. Let us, then, enter upon the campaign now fairly opened, each one appreciating well the part he has to perform, ready with solid front to do battle for better government, confidently, courageously, always honorably and with a firm reliance upon the intelligence and patriotism of the American people."

At the conclusion of the speech there were renewed cheers, and the immense throng passed through the mansion and grasped the Governor by the hand, an ordeal he bore with such good-nature and such patience that the crowd were more than ever impressed with the man.

The press of the country, Democratic and Republican, were almost unanimous in their endorsement of the nomination. *Harper's Weekly*, which has been notably powerful in the Republican campaigns of the past, re-

fused to countenance the Republican ticket and published the following leading editorial :

"The nomination of Governor Cleveland defines sharply the actual issue of the Presidential election of this year. He is a man whose absolute official integrity has never been questioned, who has no laborious and doubtful explanations to undertake, and who is universally known as the Governor of New York elected by an unprecedented majority which was not partisan, and represented both the votes and the consent of an enormous body of Republicans, and who as the Chief Executive of the State has steadily withstood the blandishments and the threats of the worst elements of his party, and has justly earned the reputation of a courageous, independent, and efficient friend and promoter of administrative reform. His name has become that of the especial representative among our public men of the integrity, purity, and economy of administration which are the objects of the most intelligent and patriotic citizens. The bitter and furious hostility of Tammany Hall and of General Butler to Governor Cleveland is his passport to the confidence of good men, and the general conviction that Tammany will do all that it can to defeat him will be an additional incentive to the voters who cannot support Mr. Blaine, and who are unwilling not to vote at all, to secure the election of a candidate whom the political rings and the party traders instinctively hate and unitedly oppose.

"So firm and 'clean' and independent in his high office has Governor Cleveland shown himself to be that he is denounced as not being a Democrat by his Democratic opponents. This denunciation springs from the fact that he has not hesitated to prefer the public welfare to the mere interest of his party. Last autumn, when the Democratic District Attorney of Queens County was charged with misconduct, the Governor heard the accusation and the defence, and decided that it was his duty to remove the officer. He was asked by his party friends to defer the removal until after the election, as otherwise the party would lose the district by the opposition of the attorney's friends. The Governor understood his duty, and removed the officer some days before the election, and the party did lose the district. This kind of courage and devotion to public duty in the teeth of the most virulent opposition of traders of his own party is unusual in any public man, and it shows precisely the executive quality which is demanded at a time when every form of speculation and fraud presses upon the public treasury under the specious plea of party advantage.

"The argument that in an election it is not a man but a party that is supported, and that the Democratic party is less to be trusted than the Republican, is futile at a time when the Republican Party has nominated a candidate whom a great body of the most conscientious Republicans cannot support, and the Democratic party has nominated a candidate whom a great body of the most venal Democrats practically bolt. Distrust of the Democratic party springs from the conduct of the very Democrats who madly oppose Governor Cleveland because they know that they cannot use him. The mere party argument is vain also, because no honorable man will be whipped in to vote for a candidate whom he believes to be personally disqualified for the Presidency on the ground that a party ought to be sustained. No honest Republican would sustain his party for such a reason, and the honest Republicans who propose to vote for Mr. Blaine will do so because they do not believe, as the protesting Republicans do believe, that he made his official action subserve a personal advantage. Nothing is more hopeless than an attempt to persuade such Republicans to sustain their party by voting for an unworthy candidate. Should they help to reward such a candidate by conferring upon him the highest official honor in the world they could not reasonably expect the nomination of a worthier candidate at the next election, and they could not consistently oppose the election of any candidate whom their party might select. The time to defeat unfit nominations is when they are made, not next time. The nomination of Governor Cleveland is due not so much to the preference of his party as to the general demand of the country for a candidacy which stands for precisely the qualities and services which are associated with his name."

The *New York Times*, formerly a strong Republican organ, appeared the next day after the nomination with this argument :

"With Governor Cleveland as its candidate the Democratic party appeals with unmistakable directness to the moral sense of the people of the United States. Shall the next President be a man who has weakly yielded to temptation, or a man who has unswervingly adhered to the right against powerful enticements to do wrong? A man who begs pecuniary rewards of those his official action has enriched, or one who defies corrupt dictation and seeks only by just courses to deserve the approval of right-thinking men? A candidate attacked, impeached, tainted, and besmirched all over, or a candidate beyond reproach?

A Grover Cleveland whom honest men respect, or a James G. Blaine whom rogues love ?

"This is the supreme issue. It is this which the voters of the Republic are to decide. It is not the issue of protection ; free trade has nothing to do with it ; there is no admixture of foreign policy or the want of foreign policy ; insincere professions cannot put it aside ; the glare of a boasted torchlight brilliancy will not outshine it. The sober sense of an intelligent electorate, the honest convictions and the patriotism of ten millions of voters are appealed to, and they will settle this question conclusively and for the right.

"It is not only in what he clearly represents but in what he distinctly opposes that Grover Cleveland is strong before the American people. His career has made him the exponent of clean and honest politics. In the administration of public trusts he has shown that he is superior to partisan bias, indifferent to such party interests as are in conflict with official probity and the public welfare. He has been severely tried in the important and responsible post he now occupies. He has resisted the importunities of designing politicians, he has defeated the purposes of selfish schemers. All those members of his own party who are not absorbed in private aims which are in conflict with the public good are outspoken in his praise ; and he has won the good opinion of all Republicans who are not so far gone in partisanship as to have lost the power to commend upright conduct in a political adversary.

"Favored as he is by the right-thinking elements of both the Democratic and Republican parties, it is a noteworthy and potent advantage to Grover Cleveland as a candidate that he has incurred the bitter hostility of the worthless, disreputable, and dangerous members of his own party. Tammany hates him. Butler sees no good in him. Could a candidate find stronger recommendation than this in the opinion of voters whose political action is shaped solely by considerations of public welfare ? The official acts which have won for Governor Cleveland the intense hostility of Tammany are the very acts which have most strongly commended him to the support of independent Republicans. The favor of these two classes, of a wholly corrupt and selfish guerilla contingent within the Democratic party, and of men with whom plain common sense and the most ordinary form of political honesty are controlling influences, no one man, be he ever so skilful in the art of balancing, can hope or wish to possess. Grover Cleveland had not been one month in office as Governor of the State of New York before he had decided in his own mind and had made plain to all observers that

his official action was to be guided solely by his own intelligent judgment of what the public interest demanded. And that is, above all, the safe and the saving policy for a President of the United States.

"No Democrat with whom patriotism is not subordinated to private grudges will withhold his vote from Grover Cleveland. Of Republicans those who are entirely satisfied that Blaine and Logan faithfully represent the principles upon which the party that preserved the Union was founded will doubtless vote against him. Those of the Republican faith who are repelled by the most unwise choice made at Chicago last month, will find no difficulty in voting for him, since he is one of the best representatives now to be found in public life of those administrative principles and reforms to which they are committed. A Democrat who has made enemies of the disreputable elements of his own party is not greatly to be feared by Republicans, even when he is a candidate for the Presidency.

"The *Times* will heartily support Governor Cleveland. In opposing Mr. Blaine it finds itself already upon impregnable ground and in excellent company. It has closely watched the career of the candidate nominated at Chicago yesterday, and it has entire confidence in his probity, in his intelligence, and in his administrative ability. He ought to be the next President of the United States, and we believe he will be."

The New York *Evening Post* said later on :

"Of the kind of experience which the present situation in national affairs most imperatively calls for, experience in administration, Cleveland has more than any one who has entered the White House since 1860, more than any man whom either party has nominated within that period, except Seymour and Tilden—more than Lincoln, more than Garfield, more than Arthur. He laid at the start that best of all foundations for American statesmanship by becoming a good lawyer. He began his executive career by being a good county sheriff. He was next intrusted with the administration of a great city—as severe a test as a man's capacity in dealing with men and affairs as any American in our time can undergo. In both offices he gave boundless satisfaction to his fellow-citizens of both parties. His nomination for the governorship of this State came in due course, and at a crisis in State affairs which very closely resembled that which we are now witnessing in national affairs. His election by an unprecedented majority is now an old story. It was

the beginning of a revolution. It was the first thorough fright the tricky and jobbing element in politics ever received here. It for the first time in their experience gave reform an air of reality. But it might, had Cleveland proved a weak or incompetent man, have turned out a very bad blow for pure politics.

"Luckily he justified all the expectations and even all the hopes of those who voted for him. No friend of good government who, in disregard of party ties, cast his vote for him, has had reason to regret it for one moment. He is in truth a Democrat of the better age of the Democratic party, when it was a party of simplicity and economy, and might almost have put its platform into the golden rule of giving every man his due, minding your own business, and asking nothing of government but light taxes and security in the field and by the fireside. No one who has entered the White House for half a century, except Lincoln in his second term, has offered such solid guarantees that as president he will do his own thinking and be his own master in the things which pertain to the presidency."

The expressions abroad were especially strong in approval. The *Times* published a three-column telegram from Chicago giving the platform nearly verbatim—a document which the other journals regarded as equivocal on free trade and other points. Editorially it eulogized Mr. Cleveland and declared that his record was honorable. It considered that as Governor he discharged the duties of a difficult position with integrity and courage, and resisted more than once the corrupt forces which muster in the gilded lobbies of Albany. *The Daily News* and *The Standard* agreed that the result was satisfactory, the former saying that the Democrats, having broken with their long and mischievous tradition, have put themselves in harmony with the refining spirit of the time. It believed Mr. Blair would give satisfaction to the world on "Jingoism," and concludes that Mr. Cleveland has all probability be elected in November to the great credit of the American people.

he more worthily represents the probity, good sense, and studied moderation of the American people. *The Daily Telegraph* pointed out that the "Blaine organs" in America are turning English criticisms on their favorite to party use. It remarked that this is a stale, and should be a worn-out political trick, but presumes that it may secure Irish votes, notably in New York, where Mr. Cleveland has done himself undying honor by assisting to break the Hibernian "ring." *The Pall Mall Gazette*, after predicting Mr. Cleveland's election, observed that the attempt to curry favor with the Irish by printing as Republican campaign documents every expression of English opinion adverse to the "Great American Jingo," has been so barefaced as to provoke reaction. The Americans, it is said, do not want to have a President sent to Washington by the men who brought dynamite to London.

At a meeting of the "Free Trade Independents" in New York, July 22, 1884, the following remarks were made by George William Curtis :

"Upon the practical questions of tariff and finance, and other questions upon which both parties are divided within themselves, we also are divided in opinion. We shall vote therefore in the choice of representatives and other officers according to our individual opinions of their political views and their personal character. Divided on other questions, we are united in conviction that the fountain of office and honor should be pure, and that the highest office in the country should be filled by a man of absolutely unsuspected integrity. As there is no distinctive issue upon public policy presented for the consideration of the country, the character of the candidates becomes of the highest importance with all citizens who do not hold that party victory should be secured at any cost. While the Republican nomination presents a candidate whom we cannot support, the Democratic party presents one whose name is the synonym of political courage and honesty and of administrative reform. He has discharged every official trust with sole regard to the public welfare and with just disregard of mere partisan

and personal advantage, which, with the applause and confidence of both parties, have raised him from the chief executive administration of a great city to that of a great State. His reserved, intelligent, and sincere support of reform in the civil service has firmly established that reform in the State and the cities of New York ; and his personal convictions, proved by his official acts, more decisive than any possible platform declaration, are the guarantee that in its spirit and in its letter the reform would be enforced in the National Administration. His high sense of duty, his absolute and unchallenged official integrity, his inflexible courage in resisting party pressure and public outcry, his great experience in the details of administration, and his commanding executive ability and independence, are precisely the qualities which the political situation demands in the chief executive officer of the Government, to resist corporate monopoly on the one hand and demagogue communism on the other, and at home and abroad, without menace or fear, to protect every right of American citizens, and to respect every right of friendly States by making political morality and private honesty the basis of constitutional administration. He is a Democrat who is happily free from all association with the fierce party differences of the slavery contest, and whose financial views are in harmony with those of the best men in both parties ; and coming into public prominence at a time when official purity, courage, and character are of chief importance, he presents the qualities and the promise which independent voters desire, and which a great body of Republicans, believing those qualities to be absolutely indispensable in the administration of the government at this time, do not find in the candidate of their own party.

"Such independent voters do not propose to ally themselves inextricably with any party. Such Republicans do not propose to abandon the Republican party nor to merge themselves in any other party, but they do propose to aid in defeating a Republican nomination which, not for reasons of expediency only, but for high moral and patriotic considerations, with a due regard for the Republican name, and for the American character, was unfit to be made. They desire not to evade the proper responsibility of the electors by declining to vote, and they desire also to make the election of a candidate for honest and pure and wise administration. It is their conviction that this election cannot be conscientiously made without supporting the objects which the Republican party has in view, and that the candidate who is proposed by the Republican party is the one which they all desire to defeat."

tion? No citizen can rightfully avoid the issue or refuse to cast his vote. The ballot is a trust. Every voter is a trustee for good government, bound to answer to his private conscience for his public acts. This conference, therefore, assuming that Republicans and independent voters who for any reason cannot sustain the Republican nomination, desire to take the course which, under the necessary conditions and constitutional methods of a Presidential election, will most readily and surely secure the result at which they aim, respectfully recommend to all such citizens to support the Electors who will vote for Grover Cleveland, in order most effectually to enforce their conviction that nothing could more deeply stain the American name, and prove more disastrous to the public welfare, than the deliberate indifference of the people of the United States to increasing public corruption, and to the want of official integrity in the highest trusts of the Government."

XXII.

OFFICIALLY NOTIFYING GOVERNOR CLEVELAND OF HIS NOMINATION.

GOVERNOR CLEVELAND was officially notified of his nomination on the afternoon of July 29, 1884. The day was rainy, but Albany was crowded with strangers and the streets presented a gala appearance. The ceremony took place in the Governor's mansion, and among the prominent people present were Judge Amasa J. Parker, Samuel J. Randall, Judge R. W. Peckham, Judge George W. Cathron, Mr. Charles W. McCune, Colonel Parker, Edward Murphy, General Lester B. Faulkner, Dr. S. B. Ward, Mr. Bissell, Daniel Manning, S. W. Rosendale, Senator Thacher, ex-Senator Abram Lansing, ex-Governor Walker, Congressman Wemple, and Deputy Superintendent John E. Asher. Adjutant-General Farnsworth acted as master of ceremonies, assisted by Colonel D. S. Lamont, the private Secretary, and Colonel Cassidy, of the Governor's staff. The rooms were adorned only with a huge bank of roses, lilies, and geraniums, backed by a profuse display of ferns over the mantel piece on the middle of the main reception parlor.

Among the ladies present were the sisters of Governor Cleveland, Mrs. Hoyt and Miss Cleveland, Mrs. Folsom and Miss Folsom, his two nieces, the Misses Hastings, and Mrs. Lamont. Governor Cleveland took

his position facing the hall. He was dressed in a double-breasted black coat, black trousers, and wore a stiff collar and plain black necktie. He looked composed but pale. Colonel Vilas, the president of the Notification Committee, then shook hands with him and made the following address :

“GROVER CLEVELAND, GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK : These gentlemen, my associates here present, whose voice I am honored with authority to utter, are a committee appointed by the National Democratic Convention which recently assembled in Chicago, and charged with the grateful duty of acquainting you, officially and in that solemn and ceremonious manner which the dignity and importance of the communication demand, with the interesting result of its deliberations, already known to you through the ordinary channels of news.

“Sir, the august body, convened by direct delegation from the democratic people of the several States and Territories of the Republic, and deliberating under the witness of the greatest assembly of freemen ever gathered to such a conference, in forethought of the election which the constitution imposes upon them to make during the current year, have nominated you to the people of these United States to be their President for the next ensuing term of that great office, and, with grave consideration of its exalted responsibilities, have confidently invoked their suffrages to invest you with its functions. Through this committee the Convention's high requirement is delivered that you accept that candidacy.

“This choice carries with it profound personal respect and admiration ; but it has been in no manner the fruit

of these sentiments. The national democracy seek a President not in compliment for what the man is, or reward for what he has done, but in a just expectation of what he will accomplish as the true servant of a free people, fit for their lofty trust. Always of momentous consequence, they conceive the public exigency to be now of transcendent importance, that a laborious reform in administration, as well as legislation, is imperatively necessary to the prosperity and honor of the Republic, and a competent Chief Magistrate must be of unusual temper and power. They have observed with attention your execution of the public trusts you have held, especially of that with which you are now so honorably invested.

"They place their reliance for the usefulness of the services they expect to exact for the benefit of the nation upon the evidence derived from the services you have performed for the State of New York. They invite the electors to such proofs of character and competence to justify their confidence that in the nation, as heretofore in the State, the public business will be administered with commensurate intelligence and ability, with single-hearted honesty and fidelity, and with a resolute and daring fearlessness which no faction, no combination, no power of wealth, no mistaken clamor, can dismay or qualify.

"In the spirit of the wisdom and invoking the benediction of the Divine Teacher of men, we challenge from the sovereignty of this nation, His words in commendation and ratification of our choice, 'Well done, thou good and faithful servant; thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things.' In further fulfilment of our duty the secretary will now present the written communication signed by the committee."

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Governor Cleveland remained calm throughout these remarks and looked the speaker squarely in the face. Mr. Bell, the secretary of the committee, then read the letter of notification, afterward handing the manuscript, enclosed in its leather wallet, to the Governor.

Following is the address of the Committee of Notification :

“NEW YORK CITY, July 28, 1884.

“TO the Hon. GROVER CLEVELAND, of New York :

“SIR—In accordance with a custom befitting the nature of the communication, the undersigned, representing the several States and Territories of the Union, were appointed a committee by the National Democratic Convention, which assembled at Chicago on the 8th day of the current month, to perform the pleasing office which by this means we have the honor to execute, of informing you of your nomination as the candidate of the Democratic party in the ensuing election for the office of President of the United States. A declaration of the principles upon which the Democracy go before the people with the hope of establishing and maintaining them in the government was made by the Convention, and an engrossed copy thereof is submitted in connection with this communication for your consideration. We trust the approval of your judgment will follow an examination of this expression of opinion and policy, and upon the political controversy now made up we invite your acceptance of the exalted leadership to which you have been chosen.

“The election of a President is an event of the utmost importance to the people of America. Prosperity, growth, happiness, peace, and liberty even may depend upon its wise ordering. Your unanimous nomination is proof that the Democracy believe your election will

W. D. L.

most contribute to secure these great objects. We assure you that in the anxious responsibilities you must assume as a candidate you will have the steadfast, cordial support of the friends of the cause you will represent, and in the execution of the duties of the high office which we confidently expect from the wisdom of the nation to be conferred upon you, you may securely rely for approving aid upon the patriotism, honor, and intelligence of this free people. We have the honor to be, with great respect,

"W. F. VILAS (Wisconsin), President.

"NICHOLAS N. BELL (Missouri), Secretary.

"D. P. BESTOR, Ala.,
FRED. W. FORDYCE, Ark.,
NILES SEARLES, Cal.,
M. M. S. WALLER, Col.,
THEO. M. WALLER, Conn.,
GEORGE H. BATES, Del.,
ATILLA COX, Ky.,
JAMES JEFFRIES, La.,
C. H. OSGOOD, Me.,
GEORGE WELLS, Md.,
J. E. ABBOTT, Mass.,
D. J. CAMPAN, Mich.,
THOS. E. HEENAN, Minn.,
CHARLES E. HOOKER, Miss.,
DAVID R. FRANCIS, Mo.,
PATRICK FAHY, Neb.,
WILSON G. LAMB, N. C.,
JOSEPH H. EARLE, S. C.,
WM. A. QUARLES, Tenn.,
GEORGE L. SPEAR, Vt.,
FRANK HEREFORD, W. Va.,
J. T. HAUSER, Montana,
M. S. MCCORMICK, D. T.,

D. E. MCCARTHY, Nev.,
J. F. CLOUTMAN, N. H.,
JOHN P. STOCKTON, N. J.,
JOHN C. JACOBS, N. Y.,
G. H. OURY, Arizona,
RANSFORD SMITH, Utah,
JOHN M. SELCOTT, Idaho,
W. D. CHIPLEY, Fla.,
M. P. REESE, Ga.,
A. E. STEVENSON, Ill.,
E. D. BANNISTER, Ind.,
L. G. KINNE, Iowa,
C. C. BURNES, Kan.,
WM. E. HAYNES, Ohio,
S. L. MCARTHUR, Ore.,
JAMES P. BARR, Pa.,
DAVID S. BAKER, Jr., R. I.,
E. D. WRIGHT, Dist. of Col.,
JOSEPH E. DWYER, Texas,
ROBERT BEVERLY, Va.,
W. A. ANDERSON, Wis.,
W. B. CHILDERS, N. Mex.,
D. B. DUTRO, W. T."

Governor Cleveland received the proffered wallet gracefully and replied quietly, without gesture and without the use of manuscript :

"MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE COMMITTEE : Your formal announcement does not, of course, convey to me the first information of the result of the Convention lately held by the Democracy of the nation, and yet when, as I listen to your message, I see about me representatives from all parts of the land of the great party which, claiming to be the party of the people, asks them to intrust to it the administration of their government ; and when I consider, under the influence of the stern reality which the present surroundings create, that I have been chosen to represent the plans, purposes, and the policy of the Democratic party, I am profoundly impressed by the solemnity of the occasion and by the responsibility of my position.

"Though I gratefully appreciate it, I do not at this moment congratulate myself upon the distinguished honor which has been conferred upon me, because my mind is full of an anxious desire to perform well the part which has been assigned to me. Nor do I at this moment forget that the rights and interests of more than fifty millions of my fellow-citizens are involved in our efforts to gain Democratic supremacy. This reflection presents to my mind the consideration which more than all others gives to the action of my party in convention assembled its most sober and serious aspect. The party and its representatives which ask to be intrusted at the hands of the people with the keeping of all that concerns their welfare and their safety should only ask it with the full appreciation of the sacredness of the trust and with a firm resolve to administer it faithfully and well. I am a Democrat because I believe that this truth lies at the foundation of true democracy. I have kept the faith because I believe, if rightly and fairly administered and applied, Democratic doctrines and

measures will insure the happiness, contentment, and prosperity of the people.

"If, in the contest upon which we now enter, we steadfastly hold to the underlying principles of our party creed, and at all times keep in view the people's good, we shall be strong, because we are true to ourselves and because the plain and independent voters of the land will seek by their suffrages to compass their release from party tyranny where there should be submission to the popular will, and their protection from party corruption where there should be devotion to the people's interests. These thoughts lend a consecration to our cause, and we go forth not merely to gain a partisan advantage, but pledged to give to those who trust us the utmost benefits of a pure and honest administration of national affairs. No higher purpose or motive can stimulate us to supreme effort or urge us to continuous and earnest labor and effective party organization. Let us not fail in this, and we may confidently hope to reap the full reward of patriotic services well performed.

"I have thus called to mind some simple truths, and trite though they are, it seems to me we do well to dwell upon them at this time. I shall soon, I hope, signify in the usual formal manner my acceptance of the nomination which has been tendered me. In the meantime I gladly greet you all as co-workers in a noble cause."

The concluding scenes of the occasion were thus narrated by a *Herald* correspondent :

"Frequently applause greeted his utterances, and when he concluded his sentence beginning 'I am Democrat because——' cries of 'Good, Good!' came from all parts of the room, and the ladies applauded. It was a sight to watch the countenance and actions of those

ladies during the ceremony. Miss Cleveland at the beginning sank into a chair behind Senator Lansing and was not again seen, but Mrs. Hoyt and the two nieces stood up bravely and watched this near relative who was receiving honors which might a few years ago have been considered merely a dream of fairyland. Each one flushed up with cheeks like a rose and each one clasped her corsage bouquet in her hand.

"At the conclusion of the Governor's speech the ladies hastened away, and each member of the two committees was introduced personally to the Governor. When General Quarles, of Tennessee, was introduced, the Governor said, 'You are a very peaceable looking man, General, for such a name.' The General leaned over and said, 'But it describes me exactly, Governor; I'm a fighting man.' John C. Jacobs and the Governor met in a cordial greeting. F. O. Prince was a long talker, and the Governor seemed delighted with him. He especially liked Governor Waller, of Connecticut—'Another Governor,' said he. At the close of the reception a collation was served in the dining-room."

A reception was given directly after the notification at the Fort Orange Club House. This is an entirely non-partisan club, but it joined in honoring the distinguished guests. After a liberal collation speeches were made by General Hooker, Governor Waller, and Judge Parker, and the following important telegram was read by Senator Thacher :

"GREYSTONE, July 29, 1884.

"TO DEMOCRATIC PHALANX, ALBANY :

"I received last evening your invitation to attend the meeting this evening under the auspices of the Albany Democratic Phalanx, for the purpose of ratifying the nomination of Cleveland and Hendricks. Although I cannot be present in person with my old friends in Albany on that interesting occasion, I cordially co-operate with them in support of the

excellent nominations by the Democratic National Convention, and feel assured that in its success at the election, of which there is every promise, the country will achieve a substantial victory for the cause of good government.

S. J. TILDEN."

Speaker Randall said in a conversation at the Fort Orange Club : "The Democratic platform in its tariff plank is the most intelligent statement of the case ever presented in any public or private document. It meets the case in every point exactly as the country likes to have it. When we arrive at the point of protecting industries to the extent of the difference between the cost of production here and that of production elsewhere, that is all that is wanted. There need be no talk either of high protection then or infant industries."

XXIII.

ADDENDA.

I HAVE told, in the twenty-two preceding chapters, enough to give the reader a good estimate of the man who is now nominated by the Democratic party for President of the United States. If he is elected, and follows out all his well-laid principles of reform, and makes of the office what he determined as his duty when Mayor of Buffalo, the people will have an administration that will be considered, in its contradistinction, a glorious resurrection from the demoralized body of politics. "I cannot rid myself of the idea," he has said, "that this government, in its relation to taxpayers, is a business establishment, and that it is put in our hands to be conducted on business principles." What a banner this would be to hang over the Capitol portals in Washington !

It has not been claimed that Grover Cleveland is a brilliant man ; he has done no great deeds, unless in these days to be thoroughly honest is to be valiant. In this he has been brave. He is not a genius ; we do not want geniuses for presidents. The political campaign will give voice to slander, and Grover Cleveland will be slandered. The searchers after truth will give utterance to untruth, and many who knew him well-met will become snakes in the grass.

I am not surprised to find expression in some quar-

ters of the difficulty to reconcile the fact of a sheriff becoming a president with the views of those giving this opinion, but I will be surprised if the presence of this man in the White House does not have a salutary effect.

Yes, Grover Cleveland was a sheriff, but he performed that office well ; he has been mayor, and the intellectual class who put him there declared he was a better mayor than sheriff ; and the same class of people said, "Well done, thou good and faithful servant," and elected him Governor of the Empire State.

In the short time I have had to prepare this book I have gathered extensive testimony from friends and associates of Grover Cleveland, and from Democrats and Republicans too, but not a line has been shadowed by a derogatory "but" or "if." I have been told that he never posed as a saint, but he was a man in the very best sense of the word.

Of his public papers I have given the most important many of which I trust will serve as a good reference here in case of political dispute. Others I have given place to show the manner of the man. I have concluded to make an appendix of that part of Carl Schurz's speech before the Independents which eulogizes Grover Cleveland. I have not had under my observation a single Republican newspaper which has in any way intellectually attempted to controvert Mr. Schurz's arguments. Are they unanswerable ?

As these last pages are preparing for the press I have received from Mr. Augustus Tremain, of New York, a letter which I think should be recorded here. He writes :

"I knew Grover Cleveland in his boyhood, and though some years his senior, was associated with him intimately through his school-days

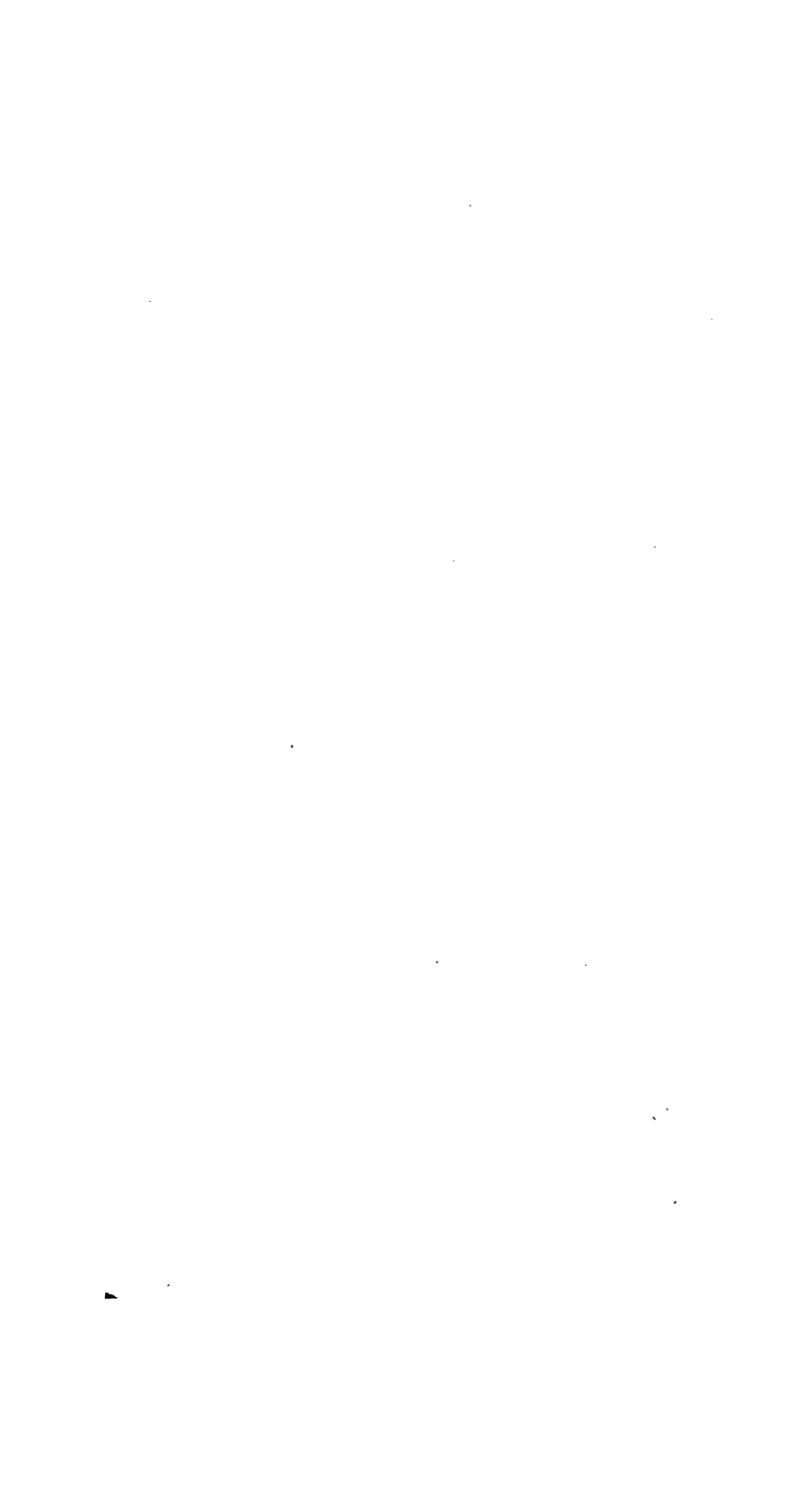
and clerkship in a country store, covering the ten years of his life in Fayetteville. I do not know that I can recall any remarkable event during that period, though there occurs to me many little scenes and incidents with which he was connected.

"Grover Cleveland was in every sense a 'wide-awake' boy, always full of 'fun,' active, and industrious.

"I think now that he will tell you, that in those days he was as much attached to his fish-pole and double-barrelled gun as to his Latin grammar, though neglecting no duty for their sake.

"Truthful, honest, and conscientious, and above any dishonorable act as a school-boy and merchant's clerk, he can possess in no less degree these and other noble characteristics in his maturer years, and in more responsible position."

THOMAS ANDREWS HENDRICKS.







THOMAS ANDREWS HENDRICKS.

I.

HIS PUBLIC CAREER.

GOVERNOR HENDRICKS, of Indiana, unlike Governor Cleveland, is a man long known in the politics of this country, and his nomination by the Democrats for Vice-President of the United States is a slight reward for the inestimable service he has done his party. The circumstances which led to the nomination of Governor Hendricks on the ticket with Mr. Tilden have not been forgotten. He was a candidate for the Presidency, as he was also in 1868 at the New York Tammany Hall convention, but there a part of his own State delegation, headed by Richard J. Bright, were antagonistic, and this resulted in his defeat. In 1876, when a candidate for President before the St. Louis convention, a strong opposition was again made, and he did not pretend to conceal his humiliation when given second place. He disagreed with Mr. Tilden's course; he was opposed to the Electoral Commission, and declared that if he were Governor Tilden he would take the oath of office, demand it of President Grant, and leave the Supreme Court to adjudicate the dispute. But Hayes and Wheeler were inaugurated, and until 1880 Governor Hendricks retired from the polit-

ical arena. In that year, however, the support of his own State was enthusiastic, and he again became a candidate for the Presidency. He might have secured the nomination of Joseph E. McDonald, in lieu of his own nomination, which was impossible, but he would not assent. Then Hancock and English were nominated—the latter with a view toward placating Indiana. Since then Mr. Hendricks has figured less conspicuously in politics, but he has declared that it was not the end. "In fact," said he, "rather than eschew politics I would seek my grave, and that I am not ready to do as long as the Democratic party, which has been so kind to me, demands my services."

Of the early career of Mr. Hendricks, and of his family, there is an honorable record and I will recite it briefly.

He was born on a farm near Zanesville, O., September 7, 1819. His father, John Hendricks, was one of the earliest settlers of the Ligonier Valley, in Westmoreland County, and was a native of Pennsylvania. He was an active man and figured in the State Legislature. His wife, Jane Thomson, was of Scotch descent, her grandfather, John Thomson, emigrating to America before the Revolution and entering into the fight with marked honor.

Thomas Hendricks was only six months old when his father removed to Indiana and settled at Madison, on the Ohio River, where was also the home of his brother, William Hendricks, the second Governor of the State, the first Representative of it in Congress, and later the predecessor of his nephew in the United States Senate. In 1822, John Hendricks settled in Shelby County, near Shelbyville, building a substantial brick house, which is still standing. In this home his family were reared

under the best influences. He was the founder of the Presbyterian church in Indianapolis—a city which had just been established—and in that denomination educated his son Thomas. The boy attended the village school for several years and then entered the college at South Hanover, from which he graduated. He studied law under Judge Major, a well-known member of the Bar, and afterward studied with his uncle, Judge Thomson, of Chambersburg, Pa., and was finally admitted in 1843. In 1848 he was elected to the Legislature, and was then only twenty-eight years of age. He was a favorite, and gave close attention to his work. As a public speaker he was impressive, and this helped him considerably in his public life. In 1850 young Hendricks surprised many by declining a re-election to the Legislature. He had been called, however, in the meantime prominently before a constitutional convention and was elected a member of the senatorial district. Among the other members of that body were Schuyler Colfax and William S. Holman. Young Hendricks was conspicuous in the deliberations of the convention, and at the election in August, 1851, was given the seat in Congress from the central district of the State. His opponent, Colonel Rush, of Hancock, was defeated by nearly four thousand votes. The new State Constitution caused an election the next year, and Hendricks was elected from a new district. His opponent this time (1852) was a prominent Whig, Mr. Bradley. The repeal of the Missouri compromise came and Mr. Hendricks, under the plea of popular sovereignty, voted for it, much to the dissatisfaction of his constituency. Lucien Barbour defeated him in his efforts at re-election. In 1855 Mr. Hendricks resumed the practice of law at Shelbyville, but in August of that year an official and autograph

letter from President Pierce tendered him the office of Commissioner of the General Land Office. He was disposed to decline it, but his father urged him successfully to accept it, and so in September he went to Washington. In 1859 he resigned and returned once more to Shelbyville. But in 1860 the Democratic Convention unanimously nominated him as candidate for Governor. His opponent was the late Colonel Henry S. Lane. The Democratic party was split in two factions—Douglas and Breckinridge—however, and the result was the election of Lane and Oliver P. Morton for his lieutenant. Again Mr. Hendricks sought his law books. He went to Indianapolis and formed there a partnership with Oscar B. Hard, who was afterward the attorney-general of the State. From 1862 until the nomination of Mr. Hendricks on the ticket with Mr. Tilden, his career has been thus recorded, which I will not attempt to tell in other words :

“The Legislature of 1862-63 was Democratic, and Jesse D. Bright having been expelled from his seat in the United States Senate, David S. Turpie was elected to fill out eighteen days of the unexpired term, while Mr. Hendricks was unanimously chosen for the full term of six years. He took his seat in the National Senate on the 4th of March, 1863, and served until 1869—four years as the colleague of Senator Lane and for two years with Senator Morton. With Mr. Hendricks’ senatorial services and record the country is familiar. He became in great measure the leader of the small Democratic minority in that body. While yet a Senator in Congress his party again nominated him for Governor, the Republicans nominating Conrad Baker. After an exciting campaign Baker was elected by about 800 majority, and Senator Hendricks again went to his

law office, the firm being Hendricks, Hard & Hendricks, the latter a cousin, Abram W., a Republican without guile and a man of the finest ability. The firm was one of two or three leading ones in the city, enjoyed a very lucrative practice, and Mr. Hendricks added to a comfortable competence he had acquired by his shrewdness and providence. In 1872 the State was again rent with a political contest. The Liberal movement of that year on the part of dissatisfied Republicans gave the Democracy an apparent opportunity for success, and again the State Convention nominated Mr. Hendricks for Governor. His Republican opponent was Gen. Thomas M. Browne. There was a good deal of temperance sentiment in the State, to which Mr. Hendricks made himself acceptable. The purpose of the temperance folks was to secure a local option law, and this Mr. Hendricks allowed himself to be understood he would approve, which he afterward did in the shape of what is known as "the Baxter law." As the result of another remarkably close election, Mr. Hendricks was chosen Governor by a plurality of 1,200 votes, while all the other officers of the State, except the Superintendent of Public Instruction, were Republicans. That Mr. Hendricks's election was caused by the influence here spoken of was made evident from the fact that in the next month Grant carried Indiana by 6,000 majority. It has been said by no less a distinguished authority than Gov. Hendricks himself that any man competent to be a notary public could be Governor of Indiana, and so there was not much to test the executive abilities of Gov. Hendricks during his term of office. He made an urbane, careful, satisfactory Governor, and retired from the position with the respect of all parties in the State."

Of the personal and social relations of Governor Hen-

dricks many things of interest might be told. He was married to Eliza C. Morgan, near Cincinnati, on the 25th of September, 1845. Their only child—a boy—died in 1851 when only three years of age. A correspondent writes concerning Mrs. Hendricks :

“She is a fine-looking lady about fifty years old, rather small of stature, with dark hair and eyes. She wears an eye-glass, which gives her something of a distingué appearance, and she dresses richly but plainly. She is a brilliant conversationalist and a lady of rare tact. For many years she has devoted much attention to charitable matters, and for four years was one of the Board of Trustees appointed by the Republican Governor of the State Institution for the Reformation of Girls. While President of the Board a legislative investigation of the institution was held, and developed the fact that its affairs had been managed much more economically and effectively than when under control of men. When Mr. Hendricks was Governor of the State she visited with him the various penal and reformatory institutions, and was not satisfied with a casual inspection of them, but inquired into their affairs closely. She is valuable to him in various other ways, for she has extended knowledge of political affairs and excellent judgment regarding them. All of his carefully prepared speeches bear the impress of her work. They are a charming couple, thoroughly congenial and almost equally talented.”

Of Governor Hendricks it may be added that although nurtured in the Presbyterian faith, he became a member of St. Paul's Episcopal church in Indianapolis, on its organization in 1862. He was made Senior Warden. He once belonged to a secret society—the Odd Fellows. In 1876, Mr. Hendricks made an extended tour of Europe, and was most cordially received everywhere.

II.

NOMINATION FOR VICE-PRESIDENT.

AT the Democratic Convention for 1884 the name of Thomas Andrews Hendricks was presented as a candidate for President. The results of that convention and the nomination of Governor Cleveland have been related in a previous chapter. But the election of Mr. Hendricks for Vice-President was notable for the enthusiastic demonstration made in his favor, although his own State declined to present him. The chairman of the Indiana delegation, G. V. Menzies, had declared that Mr. Hendricks was not a candidate ; that he would not accept the nomination if tendered him, and that the Convention would only be compelled to do its work over again if his name was tendered. But in spite of all this, subsequent action brought about the following ends, which I give in detail and from an account published in the *New York Times* :

“Governor Waller, in the name of Connecticut, formally put Mr. Hendricks in nomination. Indiana’s chairman was on his feet to protest against the presentation of the name, but the Chair reminded him that Connecticut had the floor. The uproar in the building drowned whatever response Menzies made. Finally, however, he was recognized, and again he declared em-

phatically : ' Mr. Hendricks is not a candidate and will not be a candidate. I am authorized to say this by Mr. Hendricks.' He shook his head defiantly as he concluded, with : ' And what the convention does in this matter will have to be done over again.' The Georgian who had nominated General Black demanded to know whether Mr. Menzies was authorized to say that Mr. Hendricks would not accept the unanimous nomination of Vice-President from the National Democratic party. Menzies whispered to one of his colleagues, and immediately replied to the Georgian : ' In Mr. Hendricks' own language, he is not and will not be a candidate for the Vice-Presidency.'

" In diplomatic language Connecticut's Governor continued his speech. Connecticut, he said, had no desire to force on Indiana a candidate against her will, but this was not an Indiana convention [laughter and applause], but one of the Democracy of the country, and the Democrats had the right to take any man that they saw fit for their ticket. If there was any Democrat who said he would not, under the circumstances here presented, take the nomination, he would of course withdraw his name, but Mr. Hendricks deserved it for the wrong that had been done in 1876. [Applause.] The party would have selected the same statesman from the East that it had eight years ago but for his lack of health. Mr. Hendricks was, thank God, in good health, and his selection was demanded by the party now.

" Somebody asked that the rule be enforced requiring the call of States to proceed, and ex-Senator Wallace, declaring that Mr. Hendricks had once been elected Vice-President, and it was the party's demand now that he occupy his rightful seat again, moved that the rule be suspended and the nomination be made by ac-

climation. He was an Alabamian who now mildly suggested that a roll-call be taken on the honorable names that had been presented. The convention, however, was set on having Hendricks, and no attention was paid to him. Judge John T. Harris, of Virginia, seconded Mr. Wallace's motion. The withdrawal of all names save that of Hendricks now began, amid the applause of the audience. Searles withdrew the name of Rosecrans and Colorado that of McDonald. Ex-Governor Hubbard, of Texas, seconded Hendricks' nomination in a vigorous speech from the platform, in which he declared that the old ticket had been the desire of the Texas delegation when elected, and it still had a longing for it. 'Governor Hendricks will surely carry Indiana,' said he, and again there was a shout. 'He deserves it; give it to him, for God's sake.' Black's name was withdrawn, and Smith M. Weed begged the convention not to give the nomination to Mr. Hendricks with a hurrah, but let the roll be called. Wallace withdrew his motion and substituted one that the nominations be closed, which was adopted with a hurrah, and the roll-call began.

"Down to Illinois the vote of each State was solid for Hendricks. Forty delegates voted for him and four refrained from voting. Menzies asked that Indiana be passed, as it was not authorized to vote under the circumstances. States and Territories cast their entire vote for the ex-Governor with the exception of Mississippi, which cast one vote for McDonald, and then Indiana was again called. Menzies asked that the delegates be excused from voting. Hisses were heard all over the hall. 'I would like to ask,' he said, 'if Joseph E. McDonald, of Indiana, is before the convention?' Mississippi had pulled it off."

voter into line, and the Chairman announced that Mississippi was solid for Hendricks.

" 'Then there is but one name before the convention?' asked Menzies.

" 'That is all,' replied the Chairman.

" 'Then, sir, Indiana casts 30 votes for Thomas A. Hendricks,' was Mr. Menzies's announcement.

"The uproar which followed this lasted nearly half an hour. The lances bearing the American colors were removed from their sockets, and State after State sent its representative, with its colors, down to the platform, where they were massed, and their flags were waved in the air. A procession was formed, and the color bearers marched to the music from the balcony and the cheers of the galleries around the floor. The orchestra played the 'Star Spangled Banner,' 'Dixie,' and 'Yankee Doodle.' When it struck up 'Auld Lang Syne' and 'Home, Sweet Home' and 'My Country, 'tis of Thee,' five thousand voices caught up the refrain. Order was restored, and Ransom, of Missouri, moved the appointment of a committee to wait on Mr. Hendricks, who was at the hotel, and bring him before the convention. No attention was paid to this, but the Chairman made the formal announcement that the 816 votes of the convention had been unanimously cast for Thomas A. Hendricks."

On July 30, 1884, the Democratic committee officially notified Mr. Hendricks, at Saratoga, of his nomination. The ceremony took place in the parlors of the Grand Union Hotel, and a number of prominent Democrats were present. Colonel Vilas, the chairman, made an address to Mr. Hendricks, who was accompanied by Colonel Bannister, of Indiana, and Mr. [redacted] nois, as he took his seat. Mr. Vilas refe:

ly to Mr. Hendricks' long career in behalf of Democratic principles, and was warmly applauded.

"GOVERNOR THOMAS A. HENDRICKS, OF INDIANA :

"The great National Council of the constitutional Democracy of the Union, held at Chicago within this month of July, constituted this committee now before you by selection from each of the several States and Territories of our country, and commissioned it as the official voice of the party to declare to you in fitting terms and with appropriate ceremony—not only in testimony of its respect for your abilities and character, but in pledge of its consideration for the interests of the nation—that you have been nominated by that party to the people to be their Vice-President of the United States for the ensuing term of that exalted trust.

"That honorable duty we have journeyed hither from every part of this wide land with pride and pleasure in this manner to discharge. The interesting circumstances of that nomination cannot be unknown to you, and could not but be gratifying to the sensibilities of any right-minded man. It was well understood in that convention that such a distinction was won there unsought and undesired by you. Yet, sir, after many others were presented your name was suggested, followed by repeated seconding. Every other name was withdrawn and amid universal acclaim the roll-call responded to your unanimous choice. Then in exquisite enthusiasm the convention, with the vast surrounding assemblage, joined with cheer and hymn in a prolonged gratified satisfaction. Sir, though Indiana's people may enjoy with just pride a peculiar and the nation, and may feel a
endearing qualities of your

heart and mind, be assured that the Democracy of the nation participates in that sense of honor and affectionate regard in hardly a less degree. They witnessed your long and honorable career, sometimes in the faithful performance of high public trusts, sometimes nobly contending as a soldier in the ranks for the principles of constitutional liberty ; but always with firm devotion and unswerving fidelity to the interests and rights of the people ; and now they confidently expect of your patriotism to yield all professional wishes, and undertake the labors of their candidate, as on their part the people can securely repose upon the ripe experience of your years and wisdom to most satisfactorily meet all the responsibilities of the high office to which you will be called.

“ The convention felt as the nation will approve, that it was serving the spirit of the Constitution when it designated for a Vice-President a citizen worthy and competent to execute the highest functions of the Chief Magistracy. It is an especial desire of the Democracy, sir, to see you invested with this particular dignity, because they know, as now all the world knows, that once you were rightfully given title to it by the people, and wrongfully denied its possession by the success of machinations of fraud and conspiracy ; and the vindication of exact justice will be most complete when you shall be re-elected now, that you may be triumphantly inaugurated to your rightful chair of office. This sentiment has given discretion to the personal consideration and admiration of the Democracy so abundantly manifested in the recent convention, and will stir a responsive throb in the hearts of all good men. In finishing the grateful office which the partial favor of these gentlemen, my distinguished associates, has assigned me, permit us,

one and all, to express the highest esteem and regard. In a more enduring execution of its duty the committee have prepared and personally signed a written communication, which the secretary will now read."

Secretary Bell then read the address as follows :

"NEW YORK CITY, July 23, 1884.

"THE HON. THOMAS A. HENDRICKS, OF INDIANA.

"SIR : The honor and pleasure of officially notifying you of your nomination as the candidate of the National Democracy in the election about to occur for the office of Vice-President of the United States, were by the convention recently held at Chicago conferred upon the undersigned as a committee of that body designed to represent in our persons the several States and Territories ; in grateful performance of the duty we are entitled to express the admiration of the convention and of the party for your long and well-known personal qualities and character, and for your distinguished public service and maintenance of the principles and objects which are believed best calculated to promote the security, happiness, and welfare of the people ; and especial satisfaction in the minds of all good men must follow your election from the reflection that in your person the testimony will be peculiarly given that the American people are never conscious or willing instruments of that great public crime by which, through fraudulent returns and a flagrant disregard of truth and justice, others were seated in those high offices to which Samuel J. Tilden and yourself were rightfully chosen. As well as of the patriotism of your great reliance upon the justice of the law. An engrossed copy of this policy made by the

communication for your examination, and we may surely expect your loyal devotion in the cause of our party to accept the candidacy imposed by your nomination."

The candidate looked at ease as he replied :

"MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE COMMITTEE :

"I cannot realize that a man should ever stand in the presence of a committee representing a more august body of men than that which you represent. In the language of another : 'The convention was large in numbers, august in culture, and patriotic in sentiments ;' and may I not add to that because of the power and the greatness and the virtues of the party which it represented, it was itself in every respect a very great convention ? [Applause.] The delegates came from all the States and Territories, and I believe, too, from the District of Columbia. [Applause.] They came clothed with authority to express judgment and opinion upon all those questions which are not settled by constitutional law. For the purpose of passing upon those questions and selecting a ticket for the people that convention assembled. They decided upon the principles that they would adopt as a platform. They selected the candidates that they would propose to the party for their support, and that convention's work was theirs. I have not reached the period when it is proper for me to consider the strength and force of the statements made in the platform. It is enough for me to know that it comes at your hands from that convention addressed to my patriotic devotion to the Democratic party. [Applause.] I appreciate the honor that is done me. I need not question that, but at the same time that I accept the honor from you and from the convention,

I feel that the duties and the responsibility of the office rest upon me also. I know that sometimes it is understood that this particular office of Vice-President does not involve much responsibility, and as a general thing that is so; but sometimes it comes to represent very great responsibilities, and it may be so in the near future, for at this time the Senate of the United States stands almost equally divided between the two great parties, and it may be that these two great parties shall so exactly differ that the Vice-President of the United States shall have to decide upon questions of law by the exercise of the casting vote. [Applause.] The responsibility would then become very great. It would then not be the responsibility of representing a State or a District, it would be the responsibility of representing the whole country, and the obligation would be to the judgment of the whole country, and that vote when thus cast should be in obedience to the just expectations and requirements of the people of the United States. It might be, gentlemen, that upon another occasion great responsibility would attach to this office. It might occur that under circumstances of some difficulty, I don't think it will be next election, but it may occur under circumstances of some difficulty, the President of the Senate will have to take his part in the counting of the electoral vote, and allow me to say that duty is not to be discharged in obedience to any set of men or to any party, but in obedience to a higher authority. [Applause.]

"Gentlemen, you have referred to the fact that I am honored by this nomination in a very special degree. I accept the suggestion that in this candidacy I will represent the right of the people to choose their own rulers. That right that is above all—that lies beneath all; for if

the people are denied the right to choose their own officers according to their own judgment, what shall become of the rights of the people at all? What shall become of free government if the people select not their officers? How shall they control the laws, their administration and their execution? So that in suggesting that in this candidacy I represent that right of the people as you have suggested, a great honor has devolved upon me by the confidence of the convention. As soon as it may be convenient and possible to do so I will address you more formally in respect to the letter you have given me. I thank you, gentlemen." [Applause.]

A TRIBUTE FROM "THE TRIBUNE."

THE following editorial, printed in the *New York Tribune* when Mr. Hendricks was nominated for Governor of Indiana, will now be read with interest :

"Whatever is said of national affairs by the Hon. Thomas A. Hendricks is sure to be worth the careful attention which it receives. An honest jurist, an able and incorruptible statesman, and a wise politician, his views on public questions are entitled to great weight. A life-long Democrat, and frequently occupying places of power and trust in various departments of the Government, he speaks with authority for his political associates. And now that he has been placed in nomination for the office of Governor of the great State of Indiana, by the enthusiastic suffrages of Liberal Republicans and Democrats, his utterances have special significance. His speech, delivered at Indianapolis last Saturday, and printed in the *Tribune* to-day, is an admirably cool and dignified review of the political situation ; it is states-

manlike and dispassionate, and in refreshing contrast with the vapid commonplaces and bursts of ill-temper which we have already heard from the other side of the political debate in all parts of the country.

"The key-note of Mr. Hendricks' speech will be found in the phrase which he gives as a watchword for the campaign—'Just laws and public virtue.' We have before now heard some such sentiment as this from the lips of men who have come fresh from making repressive statutes and from divisions of corrupt official spoils; but in the mouth of a man like ex-Senator Hendricks the sentence means all that is honest and true. His record as Senator, Representative, Commissioner, and State legislator is pure and untarnished; and whatever he is able to do for justice and public morals when chosen Governor of Indiana, we may be sure he will do. Reviewing the steps which have led to the present situation in national politics, he is wisely willing to leave all past differences as immaterial to the intelligent consideration of the work before us. To secure the enactment of just laws we must agree to drop all non-essential, merely partisan differences. When public morality is to be revived, good men of all parties must combine. Pursuing this noble principle, then, Mr. Hendricks refuses to be distracted by the petty cries of men eager to alienate natural friends by recalling old-time differences.

"What we have now to do is to put an end to unjust legislation and reform the abuses which burden the whole Government. We will not be misled by the labor by those who seek to maintain their partisan supremacy."

APPENDIX A.

THE PLATFORM OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY—1884.

THE Democratic party of the Union, through its representatives in national convention assembled, recognizes that, as the Nation grows older, new issues are born of time and progress, and old issues perish. But the fundamental principles of the Democracy, approved by the united voice of the people, remain and will ever remain as the best and only security for the continuance of free government. The preservation of personal rights ; the equality of all citizens before the law ; the reserved rights of the States, and the supremacy of the Federal Government within the limits of the constitution will ever form the true basis of our liberties, and can never be surrendered without destroying that balance of rights and powers which enables a continent to be developed in peace, and social order to be maintained by means of local self-government. But it is indispensable for the practical application and enforcement of these fundamental principles that the Government should not always be controlled by one political party. Frequent change of administration is as necessary as constant concurrence to the popular will. Otherwise, abuses, and the Government, instead of being carried on ~~for~~ general welfare, becomes an instrumentality for ~~imposing~~ heavy burdens on the many who are governed, ~~for~~

benefit of the few who govern. Public servants thus become arbitrary rulers. This is now the condition of the country; hence a change is demanded.

The Republican party, so far as principle is concerned, is a reminiscence. In practice it is an organization for enriching those who control its machinery. The frauds and jobbery which have been brought to light in every department of the Government are sufficient to have called for reform within the Republican party, yet those in authority, made reckless by the long possession of power, have succumbed to its corrupting influence and have placed in nomination a ticket against which the independent portion of the party are in open revolt. Therefore, a change is demanded. Such a change was alike necessary in 1876, but the will of the people was then defeated by a fraud which can never be forgotten nor condoned. Again, in 1880, the change demanded by the people was defeated by the lavish use of money contributed by unscrupulous contractors and shameless jobbers, who had bargained for unlawful profits or high office. The Republican party, during its legal, its stolen, and its bought tenures of power, has steadily decayed in moral character and political capacity. Its platform promises are now a list of its past failures. It demands the restoration of our navy—it has squandered hundreds of millions to create a navy that does not exist. It calls upon Congress to remove the burdens under which American shipping has been depressed—it imposed and has continued those burdens. It professes the policy of reserving the public lands for small holdings by actual settlers—it has given away the people's heritage till now a few railroads and non-resident aliens, individual and corporate, possess a larger area than that of all our farms between the two seas. It

professes a preference for free institutions—it organized and tried to legalize a control of State elections by Federal troops. It professes a desire to elevate labor—it has subjected American workingmen to the competition of convict and imported contract labor. It professes gratitude to all who were disabled or died in the war, leaving widows and orphans—it left to a Democratic House of Representatives the first effort to equalize both bounties and pensions. It proffers a pledge to correct the irregularities of our tariff—it created and has continued them. Its own tariff commission confessed the need of more than 20 per cent. reduction—its Congress gave a reduction of 4 per cent. It professes the protection of American manufactures—it has subjected them to an increasing flood of manufactured goods and a hopeless competition with manufacturing nations, not one of which taxes raw materials. It professes to protect all American industries—it has impoverished many to subsidize a few. It professes the protection of American labor—it has depleted the returns of American agriculture, an industry followed by half our people. It professes the equality of all men before the law, attempting to fix the status of colored citizens—the acts of its Congress were upset by the decisions of its courts. It “accepts anew the duty of leading in the work of progress and reform”—its caught criminals are permitted to escape through contrived delays or actual connivance in the prosecution. Honeycombed with corruption, outbreking exposures no longer shock its moral sense. Its honest members, its independent journals, no longer maintain a successful contest for authority in its councils or a veto upon bad nominations. That change is necessary is proved by an existing surplus of more than \$100,000,000, which has yearly been

collected from a suffering people. Unnecessary taxation is unjust taxation. We denounce the Republican party for having failed to relieve the people from crushing war taxes, which have paralyzed business, crippled industry, and deprived labor of employment and of just reward.

The Democracy pledges itself to purify the Administration from corruption, to restore economy, to revive respect for law, and to reduce taxation to the lowest limit consistent with due regard to the preservation of the faith of the Nation to its creditors and pensioners. Knowing full well, however, that legislation affecting the operations of the people should be cautious and conservative in method, not in advance of public opinion, but responsive to its demands, the Democratic party is pledged to revise the tariff in a spirit of fairness to all interests. But in making reduction in taxes, it is not proposed to injure any domestic industries, but rather to promote their healthy growth. From the foundation of this Government taxes collected at the Custom House have been the chief source of Federal revenue. Such they must continue to be. Moreover, many industries have come to rely upon legislation for successful continuance, so that any change of law must be at every step regardful of the labor and capital thus involved. The process of the reform must be subject in the execution to this plain dictate of justice. All taxation shall be limited to the requirements of economical government. The necessary reduction in taxation can and must be effected without depriving American labor of the ability to compete successfully with foreign labor, and without imposing lower rates of duty than will be ample to cover any increased cost of production which may exist in consequence of the

higher rate of wages prevailing in this country. Sufficient revenue to pay all the expenses of the Federal Government economically administered, including pensions, interest, and principal of the public debt, can be got under our present system of taxation from Custom House taxes on fewer imported articles, bearing heaviest on articles of luxury and bearing lightest on articles of necessity. We, therefore, denounce the abuses of the existing tariff; and, subject to the preceding limitations, we demand that Federal taxation shall be exclusively for public purposes, and shall not exceed the needs of the Government economically administered.

The system of direct taxation known as the "internal revenue" is a war tax, and so long as the law continues the money derived therefrom should be sacredly devoted to the relief of the people from the remaining burdens of the war, and be made a fund to defray the expense of the care and comfort of worthy soldiers disabled in line of duty in the wars of the Republic, and for the payment of such pensions as Congress may from time to time grant to such soldiers, a like fund for the sailors having been already provided, and any surplus should be paid into the Treasury.

We favor an American continental policy based upon more intimate commercial and political relations with the fifteen sister republics of North, Central, and South America, but entangling alliances with none.

We believe in honest money, the gold and silver coinage of the Constitution, and a circulating medium convertible into such money without loss.

Asserting the equality of all men before the law, we hold that it is the duty of the Government in its dealings with the people to mete out equal and exact justice

to all citizens of whatever nativity, race, color, or persuasion, religious or political.

We believe in a free ballot and a fair count, and we recall to the memory of the people the noble struggle of the Democrats in the Forty-fifth and Forty-sixth Congresses by which a reluctant Republican opposition was compelled to assent to legislation making everywhere illegal the presence of troops at the polls, as the conclusive proof that a Democratic Administration will preserve liberty with order.

The selection of Federal officers for the Territories should be restricted to citizens previously resident therein.

We oppose sumptuary laws, which vex the citizen and interfere with individual liberty.

We favor honest civil service reform and the compensation of all United States officers by fixed salaries; the separation of Church and State, and the diffusion of free education by common schools, so that every child in the land may be taught the rights and duties of citizenship.

While we favor all legislation which will tend to the equitable distribution of property, to the prevention of monopoly, and to the strict enforcement of individual rights against corporate abuses, we hold that the welfare of society depends upon a scrupulous regard for the rights of property as defined by law. We believe that labor is best rewarded where it is freest and most enlightened. It should therefore be fostered and cherished. We favor the repeal of all laws restricting the free action of labor and the enactment of laws by which labor organizations may be incorporated, and of all such legislation as will tend to enlighten the people as to the true relations of capital and labor.

We believe that the public lands ought, as far as possible, to be kept as homesteads for actual settlers ; that all unearned lands heretofore improvidently granted to railroad corporations by the action of the Republican party should be restored to the public domain, and that no more grants of land shall be made to corporations or be allowed to fall into the ownership of alien absentees.

We are opposed to all propositions which, upon any pretext, would convert the General Government into a machine for collecting taxes to be distributed among the States or the citizens thereof.

In reaffirming the declaration of the Democratic platform of 1856, that the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, and sanctioned in the Constitution, which make ours the land of liberty and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the Democratic faith, we nevertheless do not sanction the importation of foreign labor or the admission of servile races, unfitted by habits, training, religion, or kindred, for absorption into the great body of our people, or for the citizenship which our laws confer. American civilization demands that against the immigration or importation of Mongolians to these shores our gates be closed.

The Democratic party insists that it is the duty of this Government to protect with equal fidelity and vigilance the rights of its citizens, native and naturalized, at home and abroad, and to the end that this protection may be assured, United States papers of naturalization, issued by courts of competent jurisdiction, must be respected by the Executive and Legislative Departments of our own Government and by all foreign powers. It is an imperative duty of this Government to efficiently

protect all the rights of persons and property of every American citizen in foreign lands, and demand and enforce full reparation for any invasion thereof. An American citizen is only responsible to his own Government for any act done in his own country or under her flag, and can only be tried therefor on her own soil and according to her laws ; and no power exists in this Government to expatriate an American citizen to be tried in any foreign land for any such act.

This country has never had a well-defined and executed foreign policy save under Democratic administration. That policy has ever been, in regard to foreign nations, so long as they do no act detrimental to the interests of the country or hurtful to our citizens, to let them alone ; that as a result of this policy we recall the acquisition of Louisiana, Florida, California, and of the adjacent Mexican territory by purchase alone, and contrast these grand acquisitions of Democratic statesmanship with the purchase of Alaska, the sole fruit of a Republican administration of nearly a quarter of a century.

The Federal Government should care for and improve the Mississippi River and other great waterways of the Republic, so as to secure for the interior States easy and cheap transportation to tide-water.

Under a long period of Democratic rule and policy our merchant marine was fast overtaking and on the point of outstripping that of Great Britain ; under twenty years of Republican rule and policy our commerce has been left to British bottoms and the American flag has almost been swept off the high seas. Instead of the Republican party's British policy, we demand for the people of the United States an American policy. Under Democratic rule and policy our merchants and sailors, flying the Stars and Stripes in every port, suc-

cessfully searched out a market for the varied products of American industry ; under a quarter century of Republican rule and policy, despite our manifest advantage over all other nations in high-paid labor, favorable climates and teeming soils ; despite freedom of trade among all these United States ; despite their population by the foremost races of men and an annual immigration of the young, thrifty and adventurous of all nations ; despite our freedom here from the inherited burdens of life and industry in Old World monarchies, their costly war navies, their vast tax-consuming, non-producing standing armies ; despite twenty years of peace, that Republican rule and policy have managed to surrender to Great Britain, along with our commerce, the control of the markets of the world. Instead of the Republican party's British policy we demand, in behalf of the American Democracy, an American policy. Instead of the Republican party's discredited scheme and false pretence of friendship for American labor, expressed by imposing taxes, we demand, in behalf of the Democracy, freedom for American labor by reducing taxes, to the end that these United States may compete with unhindered powers for the primacy among nations in all the arts of peace and fruits of liberty.

With profound regret we have been apprised by the venerable statesman, through whose person was struck that blow at the vital principle of republics, acquiescence in the will of the majority, that he cannot permit us again to place in his hands the leadership of the Democratic hosts, for the reason that the achievement of reform in the administration of the Federal Government is an undertaking now too heavy for his age and failing strength. Rejoicing that his life has been prolonged until the general judgment of our fellow-country-

men is united in the wish that that wrong were righted in his person, for the Democracy of the United States we offer to him, in his withdrawal from public cares, not only our respectful sympathy and esteem, but also that best homage of freemen, the pledge of our devotion to the principles and the cause now inseparable in the history of this Republic from the labors and the name of Samuel J. Tilden.

With this statement of the hopes, principles, and purposes of the Democratic party, the great issue of reform and change in administration is submitted to the people, in calm confidence that the popular voice will pronounce in favor of new men and new and more favorable conditions for the growth of industry, the extension of trade, the employment and due reward of labor and of capital, and the general welfare of the whole country.

APPENDIX B.

SPEECH OF HON. CARL SCHURZ BEFORE THE
MEETING OF INDEPENDENT VOTERS, BROOK-
LYN, AUGUST 5, 1884.

" . . . THE Democratic party has never presented a candidate whom any friend of good government, Democrat or Republican, could see step into the Presidential chair with a greater feeling of security than Grover Cleveland. This time, therefore, is uncommonly propitious for a change of power, on account of the safety with which it can be effected. And here I may remark, by the way, that the scandalous stories recently circulated about Mr. Cleveland's private character have, to my knowledge, been inquired into by several parties separately—by men of high standing in Buffalo, by a clerical gentleman on the editorial staff of the *Independent*, and by others—and that the reports of all of them, as they have come to me, based upon a conscientious study of the facts in the case, agree in pronouncing those stories monstrous calumnies on the man, which will recoil upon the inventors. The public will undoubtedly hear more from the investigators through the press. With this conviction I stand here speaking of Governor Cleveland. * * *

"Mr. Blaine's advocates loudly complain that Gov. Cleveland is not a statesman. It must be admitted that

he is not a statesman in the Blaine sense. If he were it would be dangerous to vote for him. He has evidently not the genius to be all things to everybody. He is not magnetic enough to draw every rascal to his support. He will probably be cold enough to freeze every job out of the White House. He is not brilliant enough to cover the whole world with flighty schemes. But, unless I am much mistaken, he possesses very much of that kind of statesmanship which is now especially required, and for which Mr. Blaine has conspicuously disqualified himself. And that is the statesmanship of honest and efficient administration. What is the kind of business which under present circumstances the executive branch of the National Government has to attend to? It is in the main administrative business. It is to see to it that the laws be faithfully and efficiently executed, and, to that end, to introduce and maintain honest and efficient methods for the execution of the laws, and to enforce the necessary responsibility. This is administration, and this is under present circumstances the principal business of the Executive. No flighty genius, therefore, is required to *make* business for the Government; but what we want is solid ability and courageous integrity to see to it that the business which is found there be well done.

“Of this kind of statesmanship Mr. Cleveland, as all who have impartially observed his career will admit, possesses in a high degree the instinct, and now also the experience. When he entered upon his duties as Mayor of Buffalo, a few years ago, he said: ‘It seems to me that a successful and faithful ministration of the government of a city may be accomplished by constantly bearing in mind that we are the trustees and agents of our fellow-citizens, holding their funds in sacred trust

to be expended for their benefit ; that we should at all times be prepared to render an honest account to them touching the manner of its expenditure ; and that the affairs of the city should be conducted as far as possible upon the same principles as a good business man manages his private concerns.' You may say that this is neither very brilliant nor quite original. But it contains after all the fundamental principles of honest and efficient administration, applicable not only to a city, but to a State and to the Nation. And when a public man coming into power speaks such words, and fully understands what they mean, and has the ability and courage to give them full effect, he possesses a statesmanship for executive office infinitely more valuable to the country than Mr. Blaine's statesmanlike skill and experience in making himself 'useful in various channels,' and being a deadhead in none.

"And that Mr. Cleveland did understand the meaning of what he said and was determined to carry it out, he showed sometimes in a way which astonished the natives. Here is an instance : When the City Council of Buffalo, composed of Democrats and Republicans, had passed a resolution approving an extravagant contract for street-cleaning, his veto message contained the following language : 'This is a time for plain speech. I withhold my assent from the same [the resolution] because I regard it as the culmination of a most barefaced, impudent, and shameless scheme to betray the interests of the people and to worse than squander the public money. I will not be misunderstood in this matter. There are those whose votes were given for this resolution whom I cannot and will not suspect of a wilful neglect of the interests they are sworn to protect ; but it has been fully demonstrated that there are influences,

both in and about your honorable body, which it behooves every honest man to watch and avoid with the greatest care.' This meant as plainly as parliamentary language could express it: 'Gentlemen, there are some scoundrels among you. I know it. And I want you to know that I know it, and that I watch you, and that your schemes will not succeed as long as I am here.' I like that kind of statesmanship. The taxpayers of Buffalo liked it. The people of the State soon showed that they liked it. And I think the people of the United States would like it too, the knaves always excepted.

"Mr. Cleveland had never been a professed civil service reformer. But he soon showed that he understood and adopted the vital principles of civil service reform by instinct. He said in his letter of acceptance, when nominated for the Governorship: 'Subordinates in public place should be selected and retained for their efficiency, and not because they may be used to accomplish partisan ends. The people have a right to demand here, as in cases of private employment, that their money be paid to those who will render the best service in return, and that the appointment to and tenure of such places should depend upon ability and merit.' This is the whole in a nutshell. And he not only understood it and said it, but he acted accordingly when in power, for he favored and signed and faithfully helped to execute the Civil Service Act for the State of New York, which embodies just these principles, although he knew that it cut off the loaves and fishes of public spoil in a great measure from his own party. But more. He said in the same letter of acceptance: 'The expenditure of money to influence the action of the people at the polls or to secure legislation is calculated to excite the gravest concern. It is useless and foolish to shut

our eyes to the fact that this evil exists among us, and the party which leads in an honest effort to return to better and purer methods will receive the confidence of our citizens and secure their support.' Having said this, he favored and signed a prohibition of political assessments in the civil service of New York, although he knew that this measure would most severely curtail the electioneering funds of his own party.

"As a member of the Civil Service Reform Association, I may say that when we prepared and urged a legislative reform measure we never inquired whether Governor Cleveland, although a Democrat, would sign it, because we knew he would if it was a good one. When the citizens of New York City sought to correct the crying abuses of their municipal government, they, too, always counted with the same confidence upon the Governor, no matter whether the Democratic or the Republican party might be hurt by a measure of true reform, and that confidence was always justified. And, by the way, it is rather a shabby piece of business that some of the gentlemen who leaned upon the Governor as one of their principal pillars of strength, and were then full of praise of him for his courageous resistance to party pressure, should throw paltry quibbles at him since he has become a candidate for the Presidency. Had he not been nominated it would have been said that the unbending courage for the right with which he resisted pressure coming from his own party was the very thing that defeated him. It was, indeed, the thing which made his enemies hate him so bitterly. But take his whole record. When he ceased to be Mayor of Buffalo a Republican paper said : 'Yesterday Buffalo lost the best Mayor she ever had.' When he ceases to be Governor, to become President of the United States, these

very gentlemen will say : ' New York never had a more efficient Governor than this.'

"In justice we are bound to say that here is a man whose ideas of honest, intelligent, and efficient administration are remarkably clear and correct ; who has not only promised but performed ; whose performance, in fact, went ahead of the manifesto ; who has proved himself to possess in an eminent degree the principal requisites of executive efficiency, which are incorruptible integrity, a clear head, a well-informed mind, a devotion to duty shrinking from no labor, a cool judgment, a high sense of official honor, a keen instinct of justice, and that rare courage which, whenever the public good requires it, firmly resists not only the opposition of a hostile party but, which is more difficult, the entreaty of party friends. You fear that another party coming into power will, in its eagerness to get possession of the offices, turn out the good men together with the bad, and you ask whether there is a man who as President would be strong enough to withstand the pressure of his partisans. I admit you cannot find many strong enough to do this, but I do not think I risk anything in saying that Mr. Cleveland is one of the few. I should not be surprised if he were the strongest of them all. As to the higher spheres of statesmanship, it may be remembered that in every position of power assigned to him he has shown an ability to perform its duties beyond the expectations of his friends. And when he now says, as he did a week ago in accepting the nomination, that he considers himself pledged to give to the people 'the utmost benefits of a pure and honest administration of national affairs,' we may recall the fact that so far not one of his pledges has remained unfulfilled. Indeed, a man with just such a public record and just such quali-

ties might be seen in the Presidential chair without alarm, whatever party name he may bear ; for he need only follow his own example in order to adopt from any party what is good, and to reject, even coming from his own party, what is bad. He would be especially what the hour demands : The representative of courageous conscience in the administration of public affairs.

“You will admit, therefore, my Republican friends, that if a change of party in power must come some time, the present time is an exceedingly propitious one, considering the safety with which the inevitable transition can now be effected. You can scarcely hope to find a man more peculiarly adapted to the occasion.

“But, let me repeat, even if it were not so, even if greater risks were to be taken and real perils to be feared, the duty of the hour would always remain the same : It is to defeat a candidate whose election to the Presidency would be a proclamation to all the world that a high sense of official honor is no longer required in the Government of the United States, and that the American people consider a man who has offered for prostitution his official power to make money as still worthy of the highest honors of the Republic, to be held up as a model for emulation to this and coming generations.

“Republicans, I yield to none of you in pride of the spirit, and the great achievements of the Republican party in the past. There are undoubtedly men before me who took an active part in the great Republican campaign of 1860. I know you will feel your pulse beat quicker when you remember the joyous glow with which the enthusiastic consciousness of a noble cause filled our hearts ; with what eagerness we went into the conflict, having nothing to apologize for and nothing to con-

ceal ; with what affection and confidence we commended to the suffrages of the people our standard-bearer, honest Abraham Lincoln. Remember how, under Republican guidance, the American Union was washed clean of the stain of slavery, and the great rebellion was vanquished, and Abraham Lincoln was borne once more on our shield, with the same faith and same affectionate confidence, for the trials of power had given to his honesty still more radiant lustre.

“And now, after twenty-four years of uninterrupted ascendancy, what has the party come to ? Look at it, the party of moral ideas, presenting as its great leader and representative a man whose unclean record it cannot deny and dare not face ! Listen to its spokesmen, how they dodge and squirm round that record as something too hot to touch—unfortunate attorneys, wretchedly troubled by the feeling that, if they respect themselves, they must take care not to become identified with the public morals of their client. Watch them, how they use the tariff question as a great fig leaf which they stretch and spread to make it cover and hide the crookedness of their standard-bearer ! What a burning shame and disgrace is this ! Pride of party indeed ! Those who are truly proud of the good the party has done will be too proud to consent to its degrading perversion into an instrument of evil. If the great party which abolished slavery and saved the Republic is to serve as an instrument to poison the life of the same Republic by crowning corruption with its highest honors, then the truly proud Republicans will wash their hands of it.

“As they understood the great problem of the anti-slavery period, so they understand the great problem of to-day. The contest in which we are engaged is not a mere crusade against one man. It is not a mere race

between two. It is one of the great struggles for the vitality of this nation, the second one in our days. In 1860, when the slave power had stretched out its hand to secure its ascendancy in this Union forever, we fought to re-establish the fundamental condition of human society, which is freedom. And now, when the corrupt tendencies stimulated by the civil war and the commotions following it culminate in reaching for the prestige of national approval, we fight to re-establish the fundamental condition of good government, which is honesty. The cause of to-day is no less great and vital than was the cause of twenty-five years ago, and those who were proudest to stand up for freedom then will be proud to stand up for honest government now.

"This is not the cause of a mere party. It is greater than any party. It is in the broadest sense the cause of the people, the cause of all classes and honorable occupations alike. It speaks the language of interest and says to our merchants and business men: You know that the successful working of commerce and trade hangs upon trust between man and man. You need credit as a nation as you need confidence between individuals. If you discover that a managing man in your business is in secret concert with any of your customers and uses the opportunities of his position for his own personal profit, you confide in him no longer, but you discharge him. If you learn that the cashier of your bank so uses the opportunities of his place, you distrust the institution and withdraw your deposits. What will you think of yourselves, what will the world think of your business judgment and your sense of honesty, if in something far greater than your shop or your bank, if in the government of your country you promote the man who has done this to the highest place of honor

and trust? You complain that the credit of our great enterprises has most injuriously suffered at home and abroad by the unscrupulous tricks of the inside rings in corporate management. How will it be if you give the solemn sanction of your votes to something akin to the same practice in the Government of the Republic?

"This is the cause of labor and says to the working-men: What you need above all things is a government of just laws and of honest men to execute the laws. You need men who have the conscience and courage to say 'No' to you when the law forbids that which you may ask for; for such men will have the conscience and courage to say 'No' to those more powerful than you when they ask for what is unjust and injurious to you. Beware of the demagogue who the more he flatters you with promises to-day the more he will be likely to betray you to-morrow. Beware of the political jobber, for in the very nature of things he is always the monopolist's own pet and bedfellow. How can you, laboring men, so betray your own interests as to support a candidate whose election will mean that in the opinion of the American people jobbery in the Government is a legitimate occupation, not to be punished, but to be honored?

"This is the cause of patriotism and national pride, and it says to every citizen of the Republic: Do you want the world abroad to respect the American name? Then show them first that the American people respect themselves. The American people will show how they respect themselves by the choice they make for their highest honors. Ask yourselves, Americans, how this Republic will stand in the esteem of mankind, and how its influence will be upheld by the confidence of nations, if the American people by a solemn vote proclaim to the world that official honor is to them a thing of indiffer-

ence, and that they select their President from among those who have traded on high official trust to make money.

“And in the face of all this still the cry of ‘Party!’ Woe to the republic whose citizens think of party and nothing but party when the honor of their country and the vitality of their Government are at stake. But, happily, what an impotent cry it is in these days! Look around you and see what is going on. The time of a new migration of political forces seems to have come. The elements are restlessly moving, in all directions breaking through the barriers of old organizations. Here they march and there, some with uncertain purpose, crossing one another’s paths and sometimes even their own. No doubt, one of the candidates of the two great parties will be President. But neither of the two parties, when it issues from the struggle, will be what it was before. This is the disorder which evolves new energies, for good or for evil. Such are periods of promise, but also of danger. What will come we cannot foresee. But in the confusion that surrounds us it is the part of patriotic men to stand together with clear heads and one firm purpose. Their duty is plain. It is to see to it that, whatever the future may build up, its foundations at least be kept sound; that the honor of the American people be preserved intact, and that all political parties, new or old, become forever impressed with the utter hopelessness of any attempt to win success without respecting that vital condition of our greatness and glory, which is honest government.”

APPENDIX C.

GOVERNOR CLEVELAND'S LETTER ACCEPTING THE NOMINATION FOR PRESIDENT.

ALBANY, N. Y., August 18, 1884.

GENTLEMEN: I have received your communication, dated July 28, 1884, informing me of my nomination to the office of President of the United States by the National Democratic Convention lately assembled at Chicago.

I accept the nomination with a grateful appreciation of the supreme honor conferred, and a solemn sense of the responsibility which, in its acceptance, I assume.

I have carefully considered the platform adopted by the Convention and cordially approve the same. So plain a statement of Democratic faith and the principles upon which that party appeals to the suffrages of the people, needs no supplement or explanation.

It should be remembered that the office of President is essentially executive in its nature. The laws enacted by the legislative branch of the Government the Chief Executive is bound faithfully to enforce. And when the wisdom of the political party which selects one of its members as a nominee for that office has outlined its policy and declared its principles, it seems to me that nothing in the character of the office or the necessities of the case requires more from the candidate accepting

such nomination than the suggestion of certain well-known truths, so absolutely vital to the safety and welfare of the nation that they cannot be too often recalled or too seriously enforced.

GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE.

We proudly call ours a government by the people. It is not such when a class is tolerated which arrogates to itself the management of public affairs, seeking to control the people instead of representing them.

Parties are the necessary outgrowth of our institutions, but a government is not by the people when one party fastens its control upon the country and perpetuates its power by cajoling and betraying the people instead of serving them.

A government is not by the people when a result which should represent the intelligent will of free and thinking men is or can be determined by the shameless corruption of their suffrages.

When an election to office shall be the selection by the voters of one of their number to assume for a time a public trust instead of his dedication to the profession of politics; when the holders of the ballot, quickened by a sense of duty, shall avenge truth betrayed and pledges broken, and when the suffrage shall be altogether free and uncorrupted, the full realization of a government by the people will be at hand. And of the means to this end not one would, in my judgment, be more effective than an amendment to the Constitution disqualifying the President from re-election. When we consider the patronage of this great office, the allurements of power, the temptation to retain public place once gained, and, more than all, the availability a party finds in an incumbent whom a horde of office-holders

with a zeal born of benefits received and fostered by the hope of favors yet to come, stand ready to aid with money and trained political service, we recognize in the eligibility of the President for re-election a most serious danger to that calm, deliberate, and intelligent political action which must characterize a government by the people.

LABOR MUST BE PROTECTED.

A true American sentiment recognizes the dignity of labor and the fact that honor lies in honest toil. Contented labor is an element of national prosperity. Ability to work constitutes the capital and the wage of labor, the income of a vast number of our population, and this interest should be jealously protected. Our workingmen are not asking unreasonable indulgence, but as intelligent and manly citizens they seek the same consideration which those demand who have other interests at stake. They should receive their full share of the care and attention of those who make and execute the laws, to the end that the wants and needs of the employers and the employed shall alike be subserved and the prosperity of the country, the common heritage of both, be advanced. As related to this subject, while we should not discourage the immigration of those who come to acknowledge allegiance to our Government and add to our citizen population, yet as a means of protection to our workingmen a different rule should prevail concerning those who, if they come or are brought to our land, do not intend to become Americans, but will injuriously compete with those justly entitled to our field of labor.

In a letter accepting the nomination to the office of

Governor, nearly two years ago, I made the following statement, to which I have steadily adhered :

"The laboring classes constitute the main part of our population. They should be protected in their efforts peaceably to assert their rights when endangered by aggregated capital, and all statutes on this subject should recognize the care of the State for honest toil and be framed with a view of improving the condition of the workingman."

A proper regard for the welfare of the workingman being inseparably connected with the integrity of our institutions, none of our citizens are more interested than they in guarding against any corrupting influences which seek to pervert the beneficent purposes of our Government, and none should be more watchful of the artful machinations of those who allure them to self-inflicted injury.

CONSERVATION OF INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS.

In a free country the curtailment of the absolute rights of the individual should only be such as is essential to the peace and good order of the community. The limit between the proper subjects of governmental control and those which can be more fittingly left to the moral sense and self-imposed restraint of the citizen should be carefully kept in view. Thus, laws unnecessarily interfering with the habits and customs of any of our people which are not offensive to the moral sentiments of the civilized world and which are consistent with good citizenship and the public welfare are unwise and vexatious.

The commerce of a nation to a great extent determines its supremacy. Cheap and easy transportation should therefore be liberally fostered. Within the limits

of the Constitution the General Government should so improve and protect its natural waterways as will enable the producers of the country to reach a profitable market.

THE PUBLIC SERVICE.

The people pay the wages of the public employees, and they are entitled to the fair and honest work which the money thus paid should command. It is the duty of those intrusted with the management of their affairs to see that such public service is forthcoming. The selection and retention of subordinates in Government employment should depend upon their ascertained fitness and the value of their work, and they should be neither expected nor allowed to do questionable party service. The interests of the people will be better protected ; the estimate of public labor and duty will be immensely improved ; public employment will be open to all who can demonstrate their fitness to enter it ; the unseemly scramble for place under the Government, with the consequent importunity which embitters official life, will cease ; and the public departments will not be filled with those who conceive it to be their first duty to aid the party to which they owe their places, instead of rendering patient and honest return to the people.

AN HONEST ADMINISTRATION WANTED.

I believe that the public temper is such that the voters of the land are prepared to support the party which gives the best promise of administering the Government in the honest, simple, and plain manner which is consistent with its character and purposes. They have learned that mystery and concealment in the management of their affairs cover tricks and betrayal. The

statesmanship they require consists in honesty and frugality, a prompt response to the needs of the people as they arise, and the vigilant protection of all their varied interests.

If I should be called to the Chief Magistracy of the nation by the suffrages of my fellow-citizens, I will assume the duties of that high office with a solemn determination to dedicate every effort to the country's good, and with an humble reliance upon the favor and support of the Supreme Being, who I believe will always bless honest human endeavor in the conscientious discharge of public duty.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

To Colonel WILLIAM F. VILAS, Chairman, and D. P. BESTOR, and Others, Members of the Notification Committee of the Democratic National Convention.

GOVERNOR HENDRICKS' ACCEPTANCE.

INDIANAPOLIS, August 20, 1884.

GENTL EN : I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication notifying me of my nomination by the Democratic Convention at Chicago as candidate for the office of Vice-President of the United States. May I repeat what I said on another occasion, that it is a nomination which I had neither expected nor desired, and yet I recognize and appreciate the high honor done me by the Convention. The choice of such a body, pronounced with such unusual unanimity, and accompanied with so generous an expression of esteem and confidence, ought to outweigh all merely personal desires and preferences of my own. It is with this feel-

ing, and I trust also from a deep sense of public duty, that I now accept the nomination, and shall abide the judgment of my countrymen. I have examined with care the declaration of principles adopted by the Convention, a copy of which you submitted to me, and in their sum and substance I heartily indorse and approve the same.

I am, gentlemen, your obedient servant,

T. A. HENDRICKS.

To the Hon. WILLIAM F. VILAS, Chairman ; NICHOLS B. BELL, Secretary, and Others of the Committee of the National Democratic Convention.

MAY 26 1915

